CHAPTER I

TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the 487 road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point.

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

1. — HISTORY OF YÜN-NAN FU

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢 173 In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (Southwestern barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 僰, Chiu 鳩, Liao 獠, Li 傈 (Piao 僄), Lo 倮 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 獹, and Ngo or O 咢, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國.

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

[p.11]

173 When the General intended returning to report (to his king) he found that Ch'in had attacked Ch'u, Pa and Ch'ien-chung. The road was thus closed. He sent one of his generals, Hsiao Pu 小卜, to tranquilize the savages to the west of Tien. Unable to return to Ch'u, he began building the walled city of Chü-lan 苴蘭 and resided there. Chü-lan ch'eng was in the prefecture of Ku-ch'ang 谷昌 and was seven li north of K'un-ming hsien — other books say over 10 li from Yün-nan fu.

The *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) states that in the time of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang 頃襄王, Chuang Hao 莊豪 was King of Tien.

According to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* 漢書, the time when Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan was during the reign of King Wei of Ch'u (339–329 B.C.), and not during the reign of King Ch'ing Hsiang of Ch'u (289–262 B.C.).

Although the Li-chiang Records state explicitly that it was after Ssu-ma Ts'o had attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung (which was in 280 B.C.), the exact date of the establishing of Tien Kuo is, therefore, left undetermined.[1]

K'un-ming (*Yün-nan fu*). — In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien submitted, and at first there was established the I-chou Chün 益州郡.[2] (A *chün* 郡 was a territorial division of the Han empire beginning 221 B.C.) In the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Shu Han (A.D. 225). I-chou Chün was changed to Chien-ning 建寧 which controlled also Wei hsien 味縣 (this was 15 li west of the city of Nan-ning, or Nan-ning ch'eng 南寧城, the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, to the east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu), distant seven stages).

---

[1] The dates given by EMILE ROCHER in his "Histoire des princes du Yün-nan" in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. X (1899), p. 1, as regards the early history of Yün-nan, are completely untrustworthy, for he says, "About the beginning of our era the prince of the Kingdom of Ch'u sent an ambassador by the name of Chuang Ch'iao, etc., to Yün-nan to which he gave the name of Tien." Now the State of Ch'u came to an end in 223 B.C., which is hardly "about the beginning of our era."

The next king of whom any record exists, although it is very little, is Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, of whom the Li-chiang Records relate that "at first Han Wu Ti sent envoys to Tien [Yün-nan] to interview King Ch'ang Ch'iang." Wu Ti ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., so Ch'ang Ch'iang's reign in Yün-nan must fall into that period and not A.D. 20 as Rocher states.

In the *Hsi-nan-i Lieh-chuan* of the *Shih Chi* it is stated that Ch'ang Ch'iang, the King of Tien, led all his people to allegiance in the second year of the period Yüan-feng (109 B.C.). Thereupon he was given an official seal, authorizing him to continue to govern his people as their king.

Among the south-western savages there were about one hundred chieftains among whom only those of Yeh-lang and Tien received official seals authorizing them to be kings. The State of Ch'in exterminated the kings of all the other States except the King of Tien who was a descendant of Ch'u. When the Han dynasty launched an expedition against the south-western savages, all the barbarian States were exterminated except Tien, the king of which remained a favourite of the emperor. We learn that Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tien, appeared first in Chinese history in the first year of the period Yüan-shou (122 B.C.). — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 117, fol. 2a and b.

[2] In I-chou Chün during the reign of Wu Ti, in the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 there were founded 24 hsien, of which the first was Tien-ch'ih 滇池. This Tien-ch'ih is the present-day Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣. The second was Shuang-pai 雙柏, the present I-men hsien 易門縣; the third was T'ung-lao 同勞, the Yüeh chou 越州, of the present Nan-ning, later abandoned, etc. Under the Later Han, I-chou Chün had 17 walled cities, the first again being Tien-ch'ih. All these belonged to Yün-nan. — (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 4b). *See* p. 8.

In the second year of the period Yung-an 永安 (305) in the reign of Chin Hui Ti 惠帝, Chien-ning was enlarged and Ning-chou Chün 寧州郡 was established. In the second year of the period Yung-chia 永嘉 of Chin Huai Ti 懷帝 (308), Ning chou was changed to Chin-ning Chün 晉寧郡. Both the Sung 宋 (420–478) and Ch'i 齊 (479–501) called it by the same name. During the Liang 梁 (502–56) and Ch'en 陳 (557–589) dynasties the name Chin-ning Chün was abolished. In the beginning of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581) there was established K'un chou 昆州, which was subsequently abolished. — *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

However, in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618) it was re-established as K'un chou, but subject to the Yao chou Tsung-kuan-fu 姚州總管府 (Fu-Governor of Yao chou, north of Chen-nan chou). In the fourth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (630) it was changed and made subject to the Tu-tu-fu 都督府 (Governor-General) of Jung chou 戎州.[3]

Towards the end of T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was abolished by the Nan-chao Kingdom. In the fifth year of Kuang-te 廣德 (767),[4] Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, a prince of the Meng family 蒙氏, added a wall and called the town T'o-tung ch'eng 拓東城, as in the east of Nan-chao (Ta-li) the Meng princes had established the *chieh-tu* of T'o-tung. It was intended to open up the land of T'o-tung which was one of six *chieh-tu* 節度,[5] namely, T'o-tung, Lung-tung 弄棟 (present-day Yüan-mou 元謀), Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (now called Pao-shan 保山), Yin-sheng 銀生 (present-day Ching-tung 景東), Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and Lu-shui 瀘水. T'o-tung ch'eng is the K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) of to-day.

Ch'üan-feng-t'o 券豐祐, a grandchild of the sixth generation of Feng-ch'ieh-i, changed the name T'o-tung ch'eng to Shan-shan fu 鄯闡府. Hsün-ho-ch'üan 尋閣勸 (in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* he is called Hsün-ko-ch'üan 尋閣勸), the seventh Nan-chao King (808–809), renamed T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城, and made it the Hsi-ching 西京 or Western capital, calling Shan-shan the Eastern capital. Lung-shun 隆舜, 12th Nan-chao King (877–897), changed the Hsi-ching 西京 (Western capital) to the Chung-tu 中都 (Central capital); and the Tung-ching 東京 (Eastern capital) he called the Shang-tu 上都 (Upper capital). In the time of the Tuan family, Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇[6] governed Shan-shan and his descendants lived there.

In the beginning of the Yüan 元 (Mongol) dynasty (1253) was established the Shan-shan wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Shan-shan city of 10,000 families). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 32, fol. 3b, however, states that in the fifth year of

---

[3] Jung chou is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (formerly called Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 and Sui-fu) of Ssu-ch'uan. It was first known as Jung chou in the 10th year of Ta-t'ung 大同 of the Liang dynasty (544).

[4] This should probably read the second year of Ta-li 大曆, as there were only two years of the period Kuang-te, though the emperor was the same. The date may, however, be wrong, as the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* gives the second year of Kuang-te, which is 764.

[5] *Chieh-tu* was the office of an Imperial Commissioner.

[6] Kao Chih-sheng was marquis of Yo (hou) 岳侯. He was promoted in 1063 to T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Protector of the Hereditary Prince), and invested with the title of marquis of Te (hou) 德侯. Later he was promoted marquis of Shan-shan 鄯闡侯, the title to be inherited by his descendants.

173 Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 鄯闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.[7]

912 173 *The city wall.* — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i [8] in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (*see* p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

---

[7] If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 砲 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu 筇竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'iung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄堅 holds forth in the temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

[8] He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣邏鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the 173 ●
salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of
K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by 712
Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797.

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 133
li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-
fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. 487
This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and
12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet.
The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears
to the west.

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安甯州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and
situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min- [482]
chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carry-
ing blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. [438]
Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming.
The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town
of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung.

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 173
連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it
belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and
Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui
dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou.

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

---

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

● 173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡 [10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133
487
137 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草鋪 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(驃)飄 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

---

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a 487 small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 淸水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend 133 again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a 137 beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎭南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the 173 ● land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come 137 to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between 133 partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses [764] of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding 487 and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

---

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓橦 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹偉憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291
173

[p.28 I]

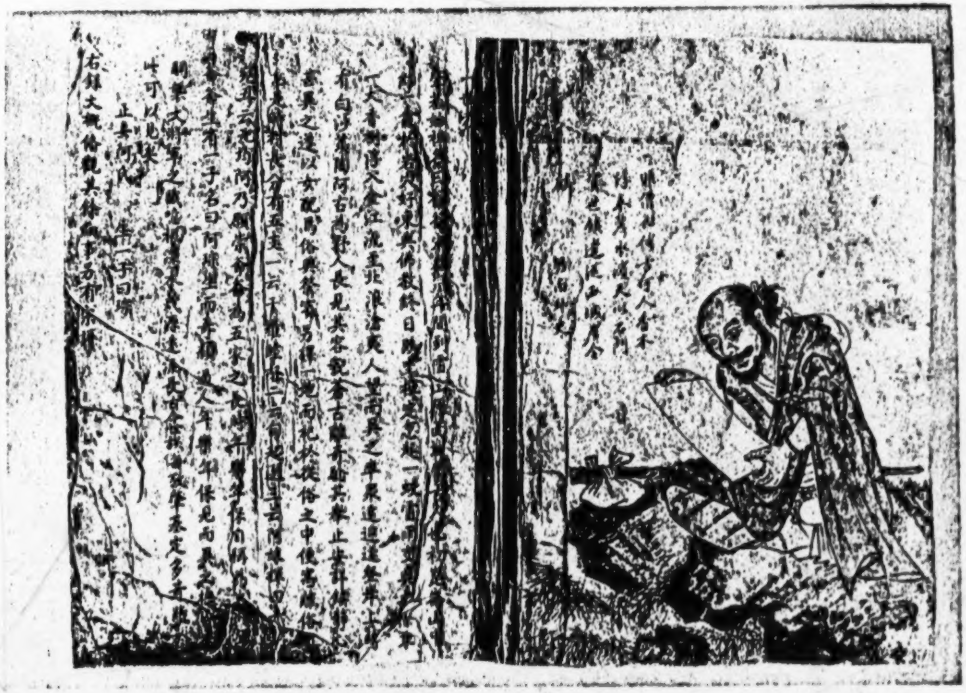


PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

爺爺一世考

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125).

212
173

[p.28]

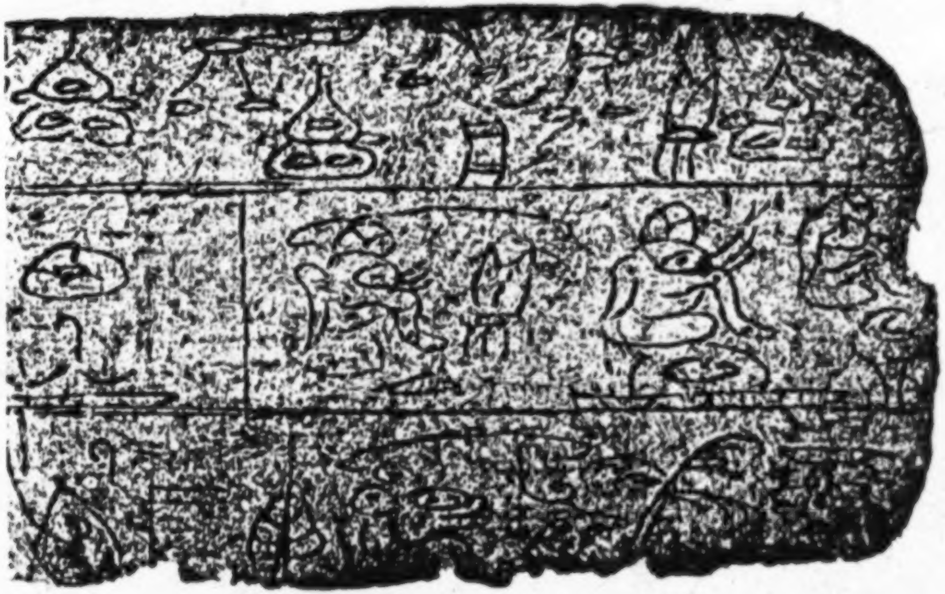


PLATE 10.—AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古[illegible]的象形文字書

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbêr ssaw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77. *First sentence*; *Second* and *Third sentence* on page 78.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

212
173

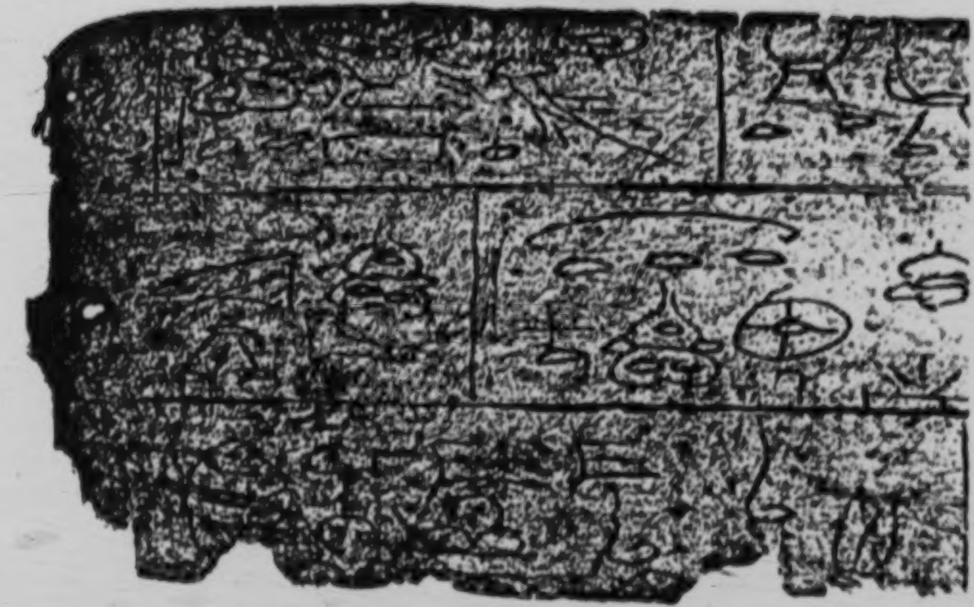


PLATE 11. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78, *Fourth sentence; Fifth, Sixth,* and *Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

[p.28 K]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1:47 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
242

[P 28 L]

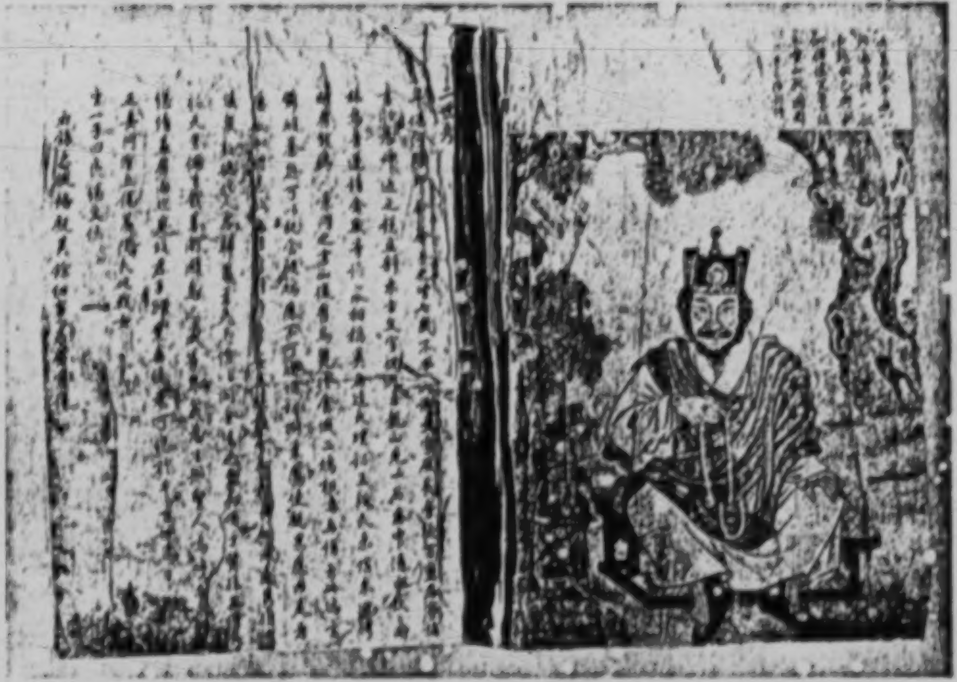


PLATE 11. — THE SECOND GENERATION: MOU-PAO A-TSUNG

[illegible]

The Nien-pao A-tsung of the Second Chronicle

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

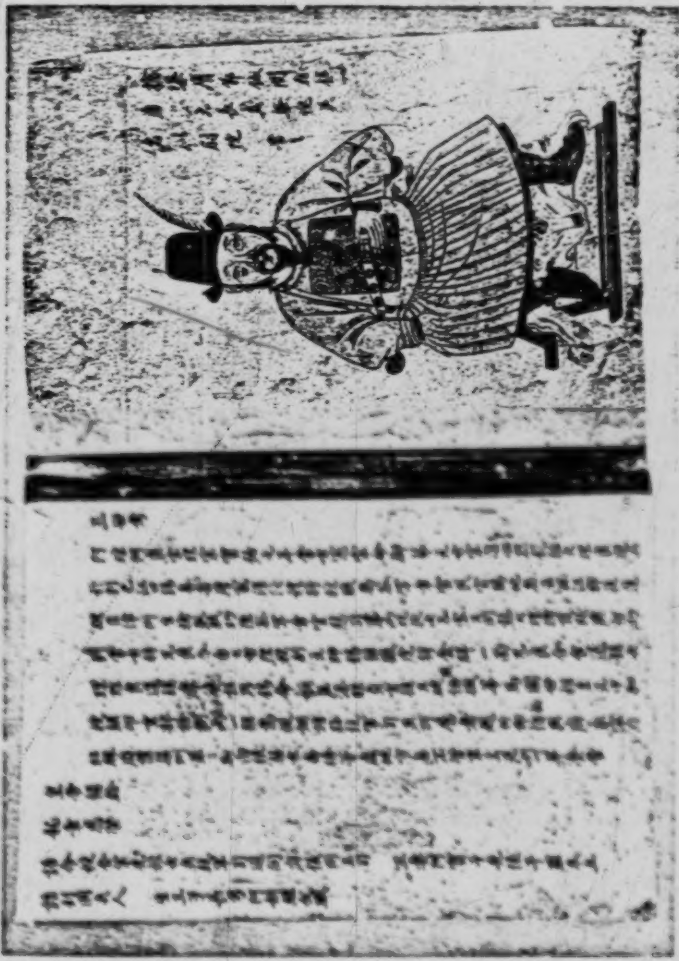


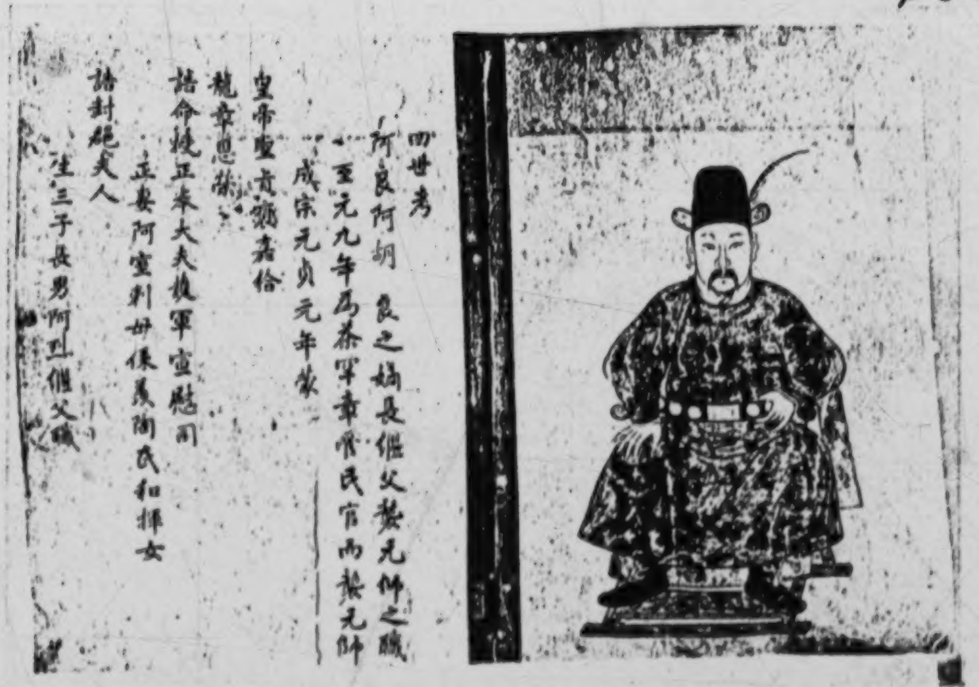
PLATE 13.—THE THIRD GENERATION A TSUNG A-LIANG

[p. 28 M]

173
292

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[P.128N]



四世考

阿良阿胡　良之嫡長繼父甞元帥之職

至元九年爲茶罕章管民官兩揔元帥

成宗元貞元年歿

皇帝聖旨褒嘉倫

龍章恩榮

誥命授正奉大夫撫軍宣慰司

正妻阿室刺毋保羨陶氏和拜女

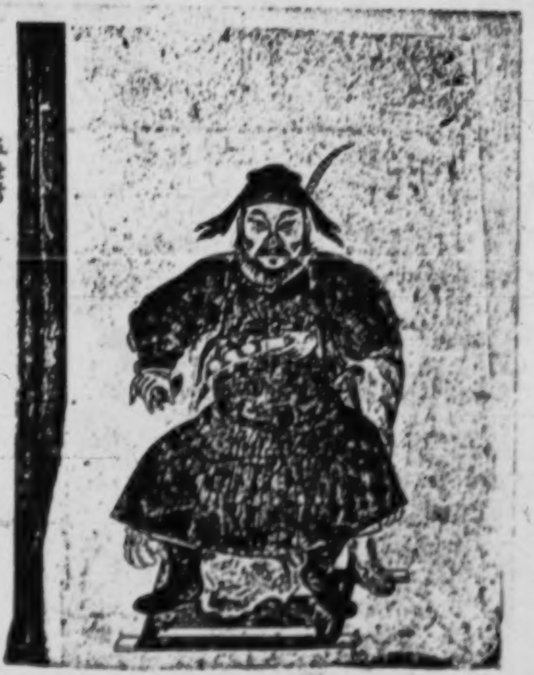
誥封淑夫人

生三子長男阿烈繼父職

PLATE 14.—THE FOURTH GENERATION. A-LIANG A-HU

[illegible]

173
292



五世考

阿胡阿烈　新之嫡長繼父職元帥之職

順帝至元十三年敕受麗江路軍民總管府所屬府並北勝

州永通安巨津寶山蘭州永寧蒗蕖順州蘭黃臨西十五年

授節阿吉巴剖軍民合民官安撫司并掌

皇帝聖旨集嘉忠宗

勅命授太中大夫都卑都總管

正妻阿室文素阿加係到已到土女

勅封貌夫人

生子阿甲繼父職

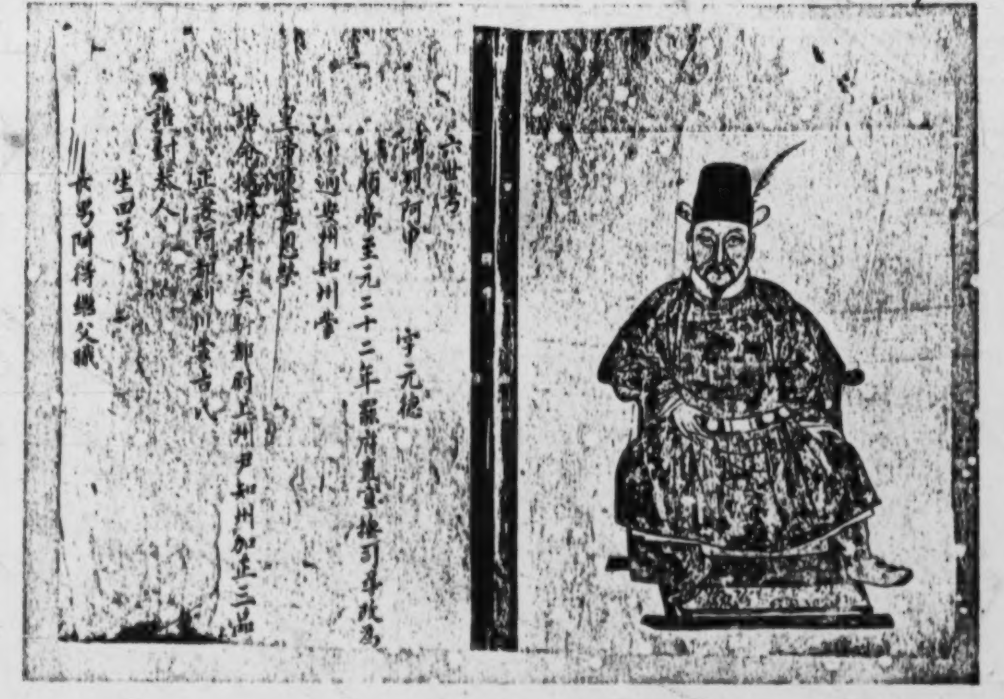
PLATE 15. — THE FIFTH GENERATION. A-HU A-LIEH

阿胡阿烈五世考

[p.28-0]

173
292

[p.28 P]



六世考

阿烈阿甲　字元德

元順帝至元二十二年羅府真宣撫司承政為

通安州知州當

皇帝覃恩賜

誥命授嘉議大夫騎都尉上州尹知州加正三品

正妻阿都剌川當吉八

誥封恭人

生四子

長男阿得繼父職

PLATE 16.—THE SIXTH GENERATION, A-LIEH A-CHIA

阿烈阿甲六世考

[264] 137 133 487 Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

[291] Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5)[1]. In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

● 173 Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

---

cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that Aśoka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音塘 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里舖 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the temple was first built, but the dates of its restoration or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[1] [see p. 28 E-- Analyst]

● 173 about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

361 *The city of Ta-li.* — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.[31] It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

---

173 [31] In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25–220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, *i.e.*, the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307–312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Tz'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 楪榆. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555–556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the *T'ang Shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936–942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大曆 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城. The *Ta-li hsien chih kao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng 大釐城 and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF-16

lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐祐,[20] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337). 361 344

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuda, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends. 344 731 [539]

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[21] Around the pagodas have 344

T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko. 173 ●

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[20] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name [illegible] as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan [illegible]. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[21] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 9a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭韜徽義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 沘江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍[3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] 197 The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Pa-laung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 ● 173 101 [302] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 繲, Ch'ü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 茫施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

---

[3] Latitude, 25° 49'; Longitude 99° 22'. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 沘 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 沘 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 濞, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 羅馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families 539
of the people). 173

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. 101
In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

[p. 44 is blank]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

1

173
292

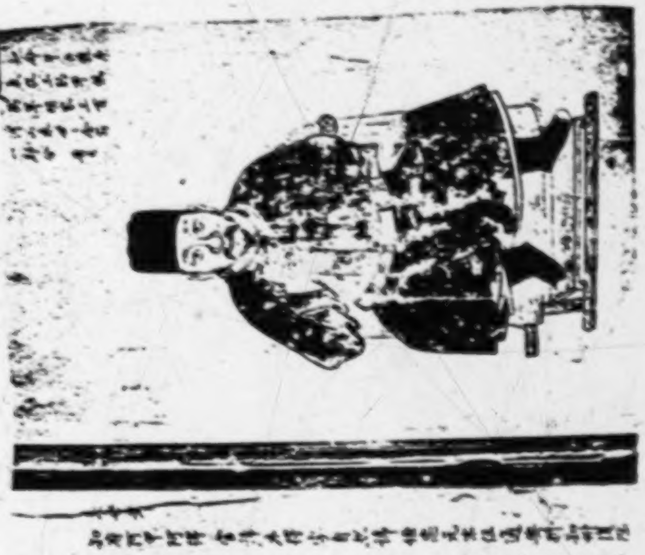


PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTH GENERATION, A-CHIA A-TE (MU TE)

阿甲阿得木得七世考

[p. 43 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

• 13
292

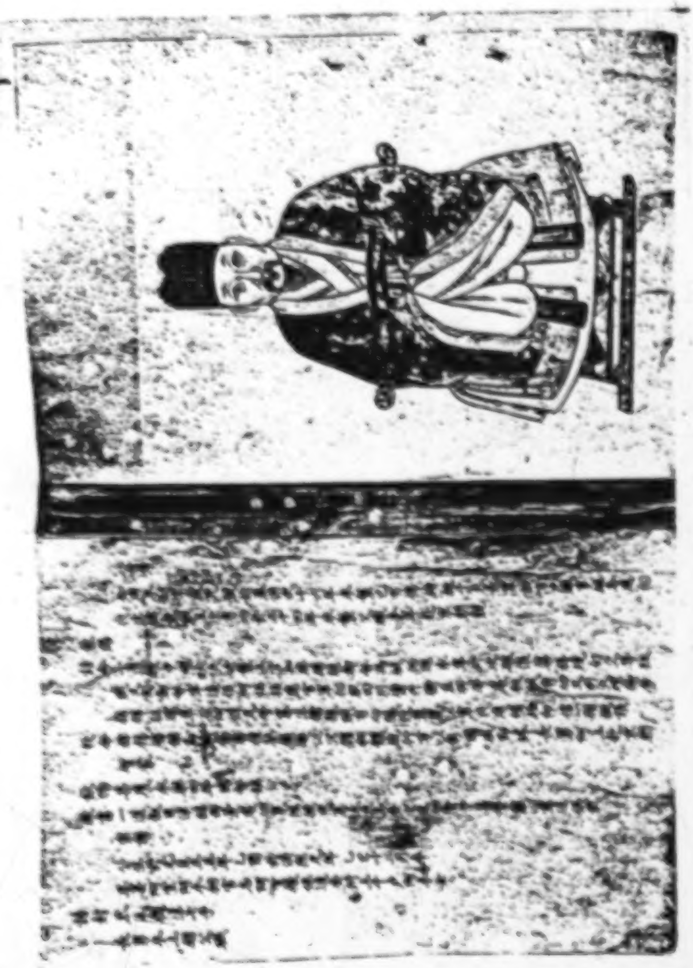


PLATE 18.—THE EIGHTH GENERATION. MU CH'U

[illegible]

[p.43 B]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

[p.43C]

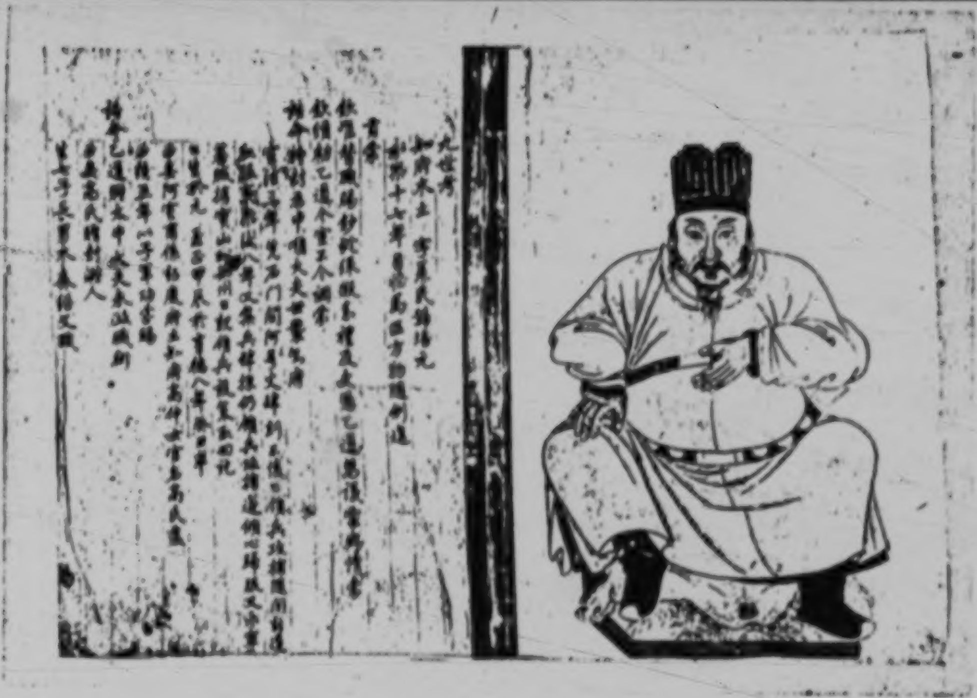


PLATE 19.—THE NINTH GENERATION, MU T'U

木 土 九 世 考

173
292

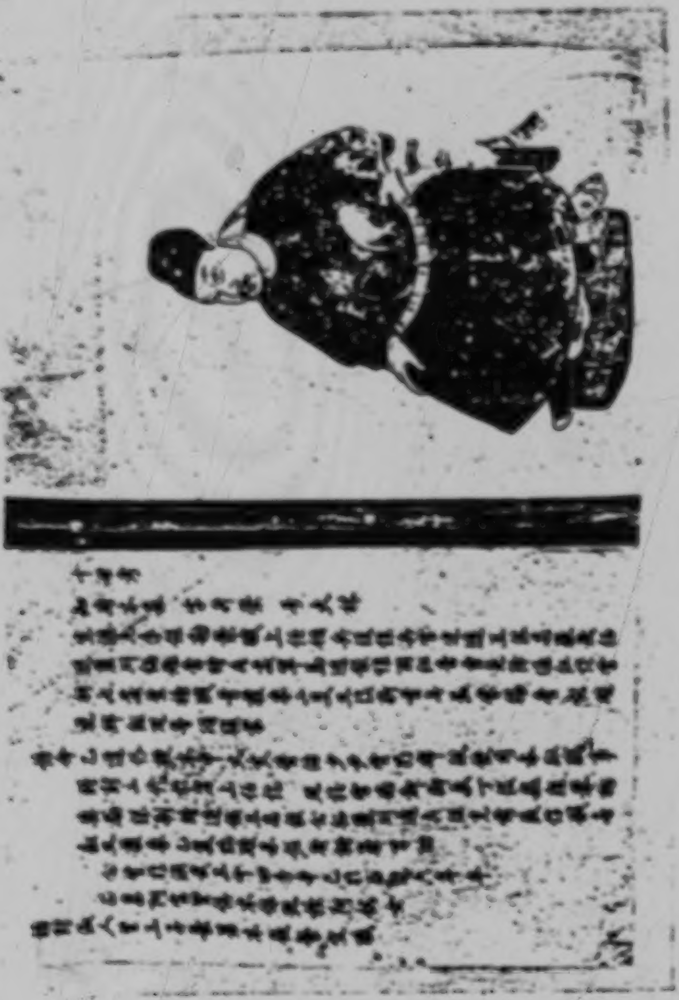


PLATE 10.—THE TENTH GENERATION, MU SHEN

[illegible]

[p.43 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

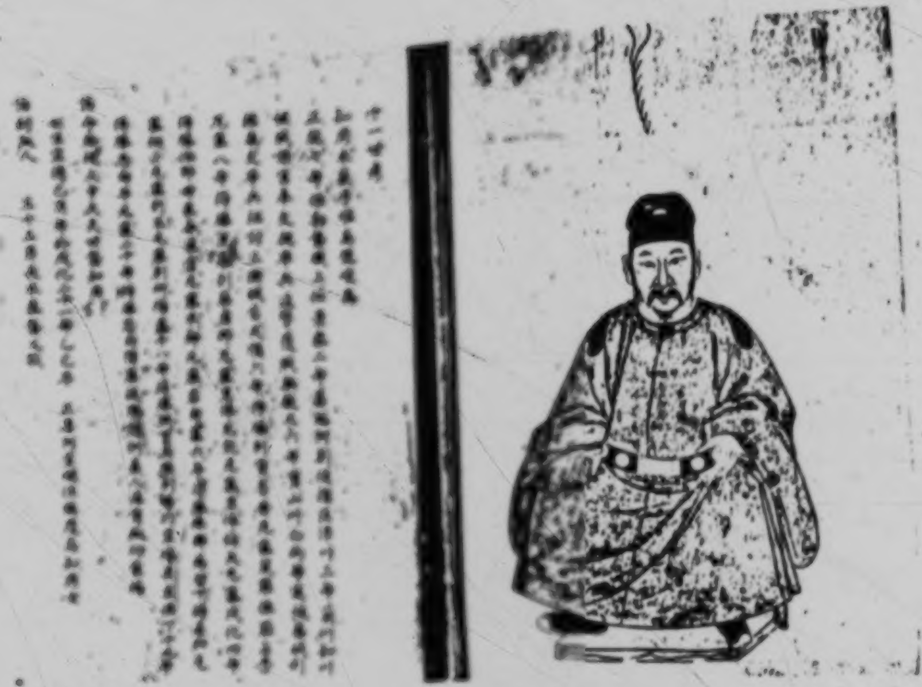


PLATE 11.—THE ELEVENTH GENERATION: MU CH'IN

[illegible]第十一世[illegible]

[p.43 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

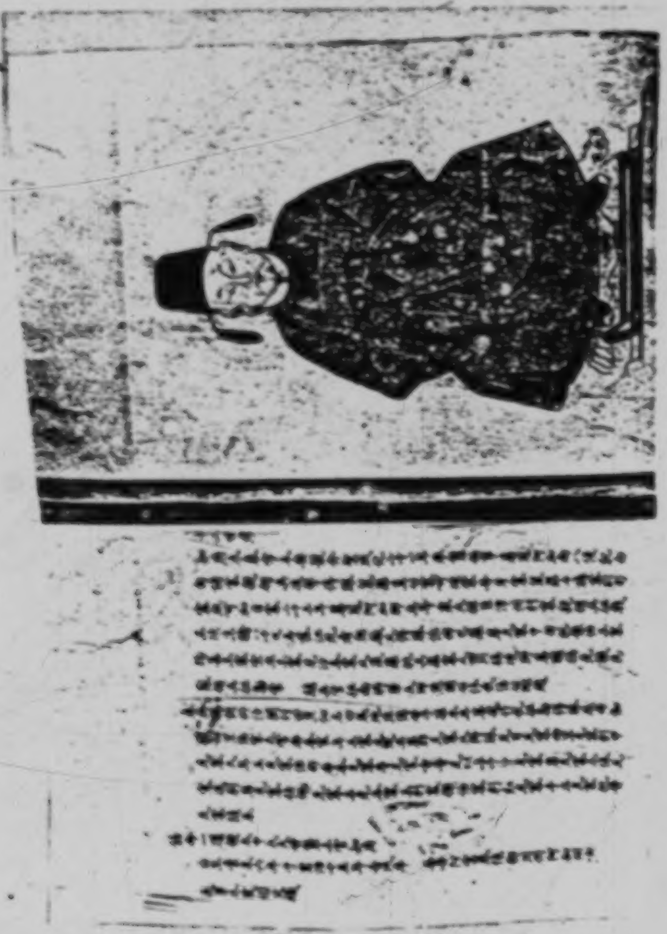


PLATE 22.—THE TWELFTH GENERATION. MU T'AI

木泰十二世考

[P. 43 F]

21 Rock K-S (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

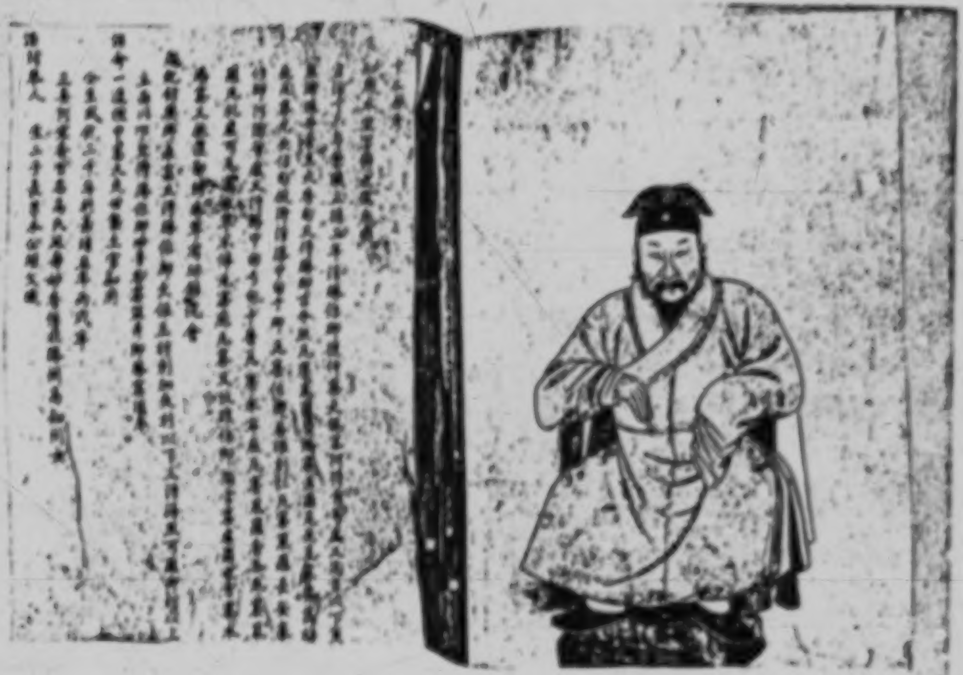
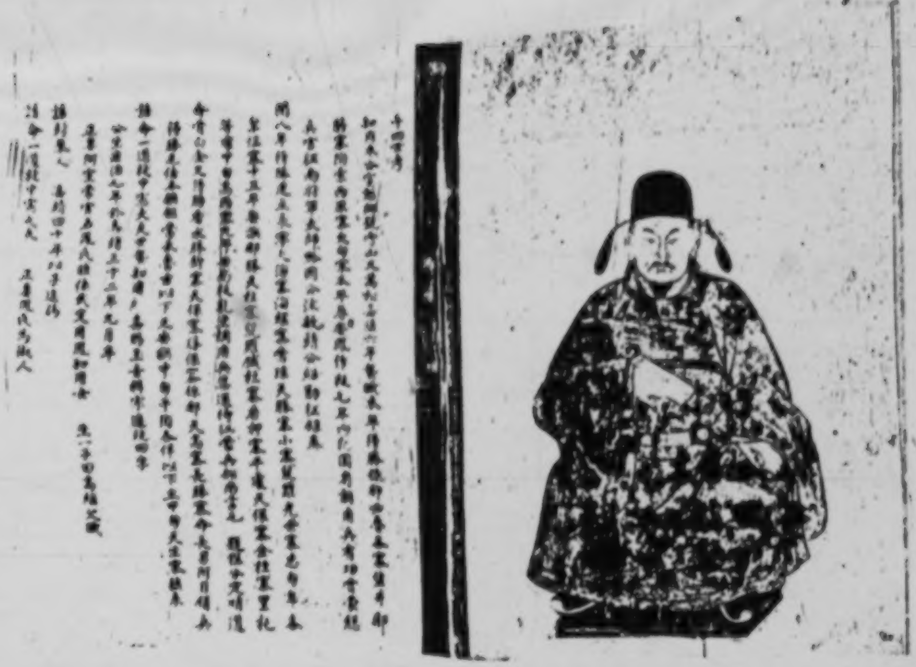


PLATE 13.—THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION MU TING

[illegible]

[p. 43 G]

173
292


十四世考

[illegible]

PLATE 24.—THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION. MU KUNG

木 公 十 四 世 考

[p.43H]

Z; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

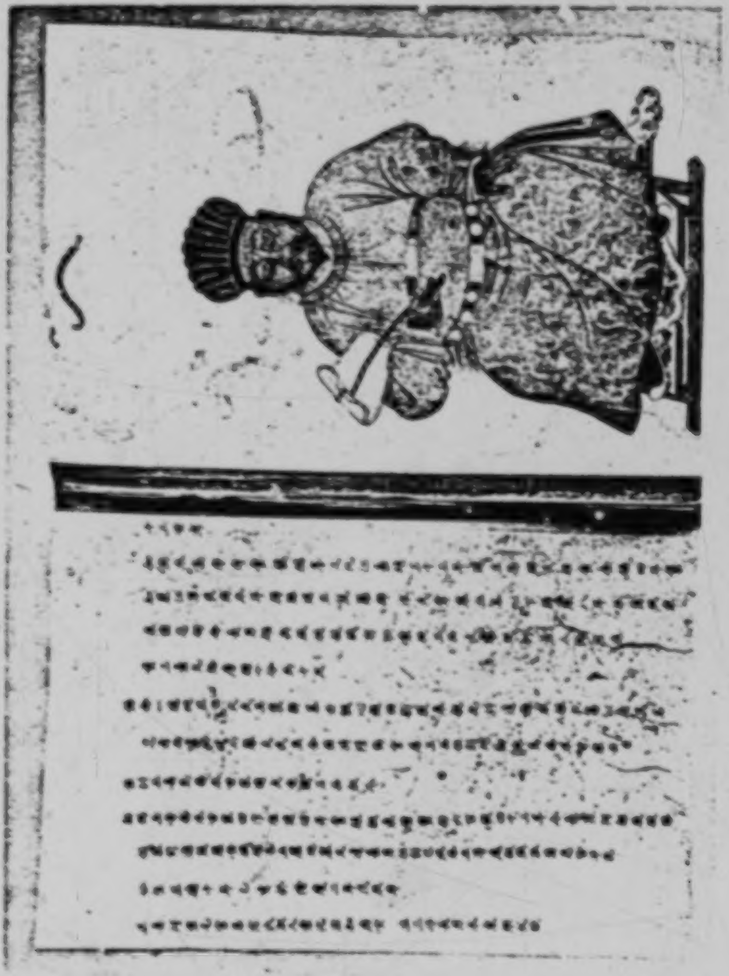
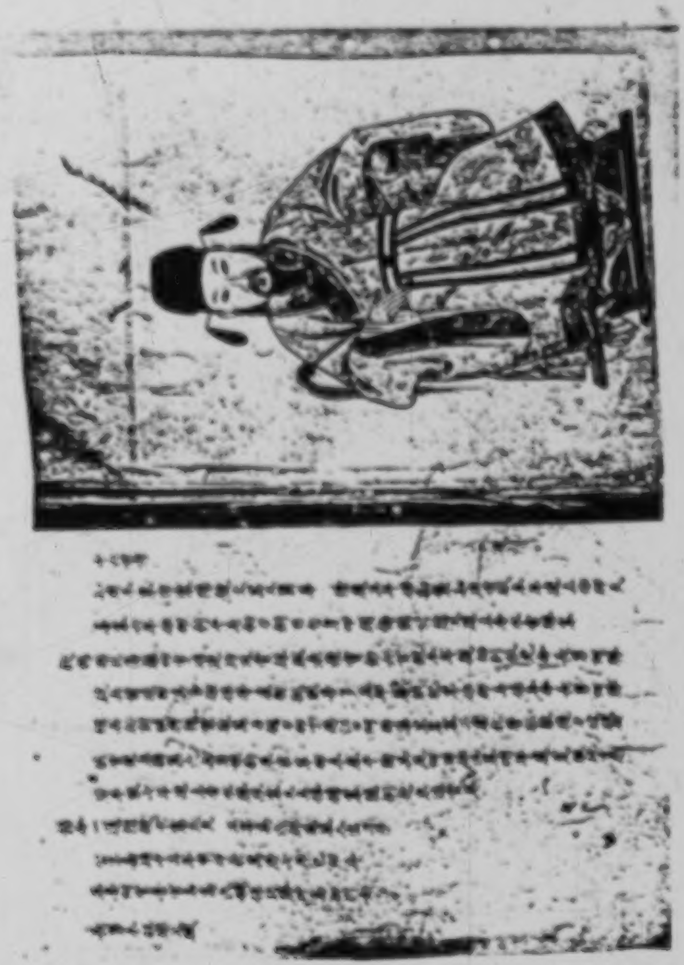


Plate 25.—The Fifteenth Generation. Mu Kao

[p. 43 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292



PL. 16.—THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION. MU TUNG

[illegible]

[p.43 J]

173
292

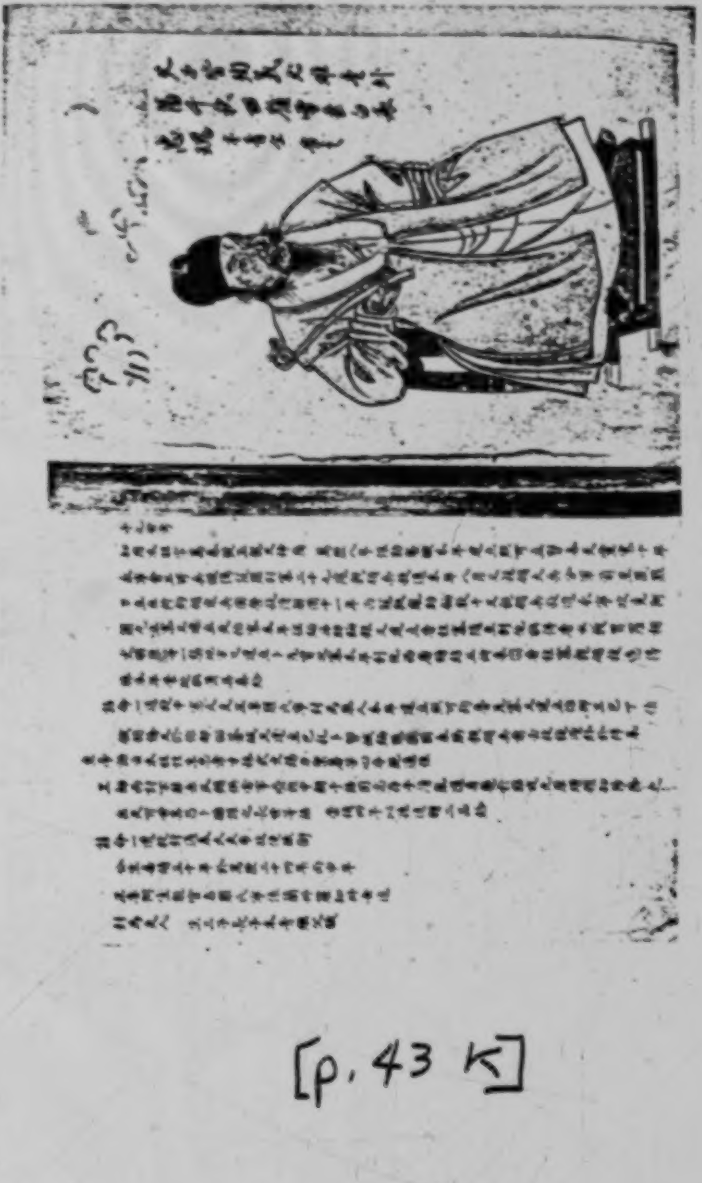


PLATE 27. — THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION, MU WANG

木旺十七世考

[p. 43 K]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
173
292
[p.43L]

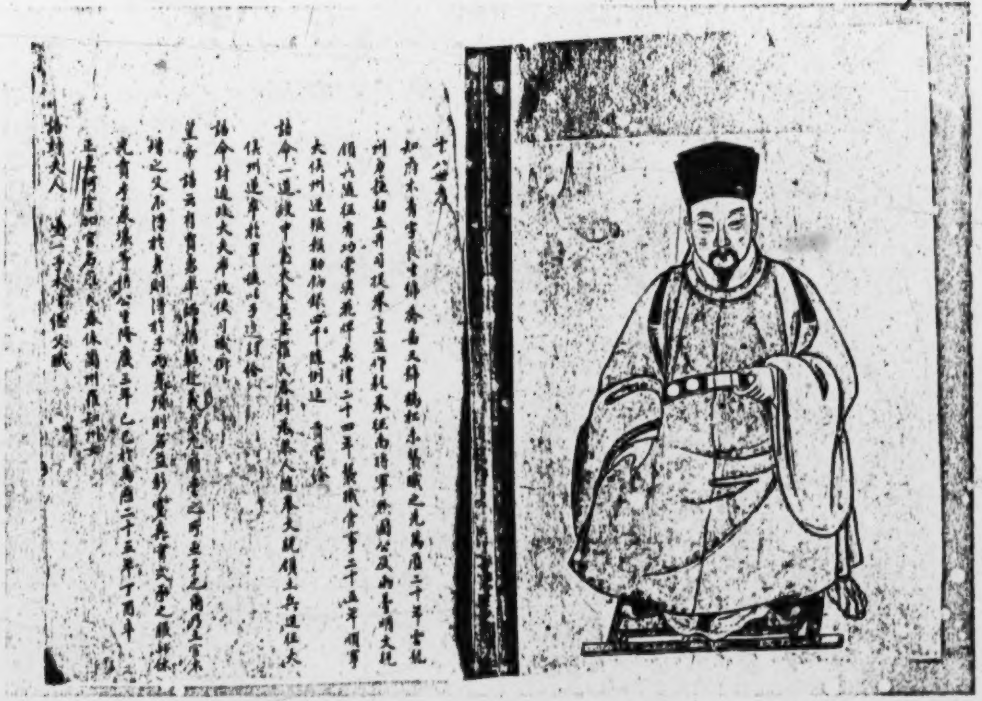


PLATE 28. — THE EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. MU CH'ING

木青十八世考

[p.43 M]

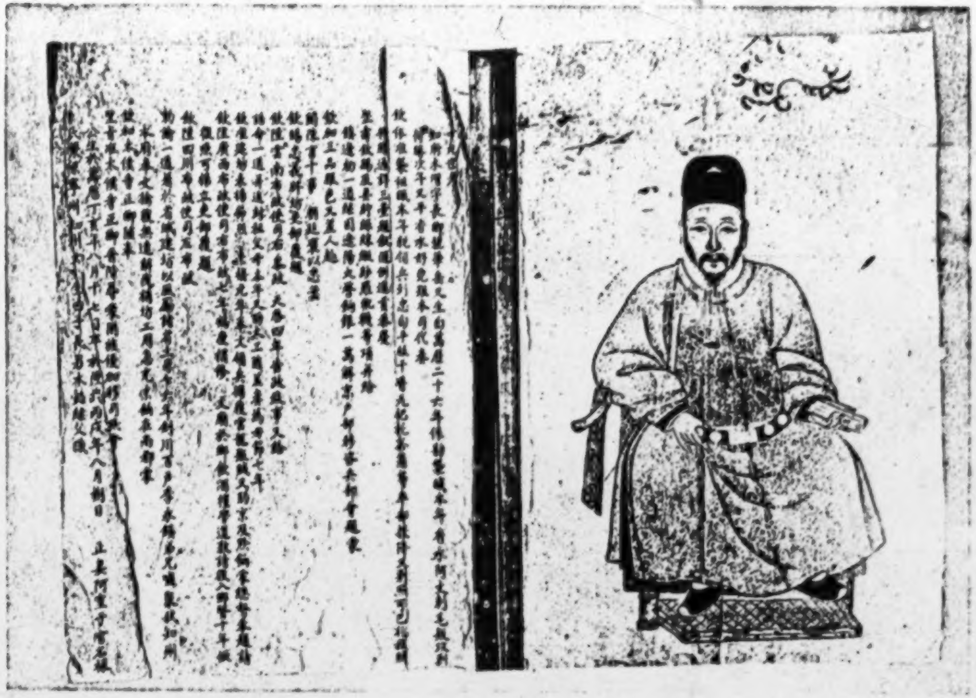


PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

木 增 (木 生 白) 十 九 世 考

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

173
292

173
292

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

AF16

[p. 43 N]

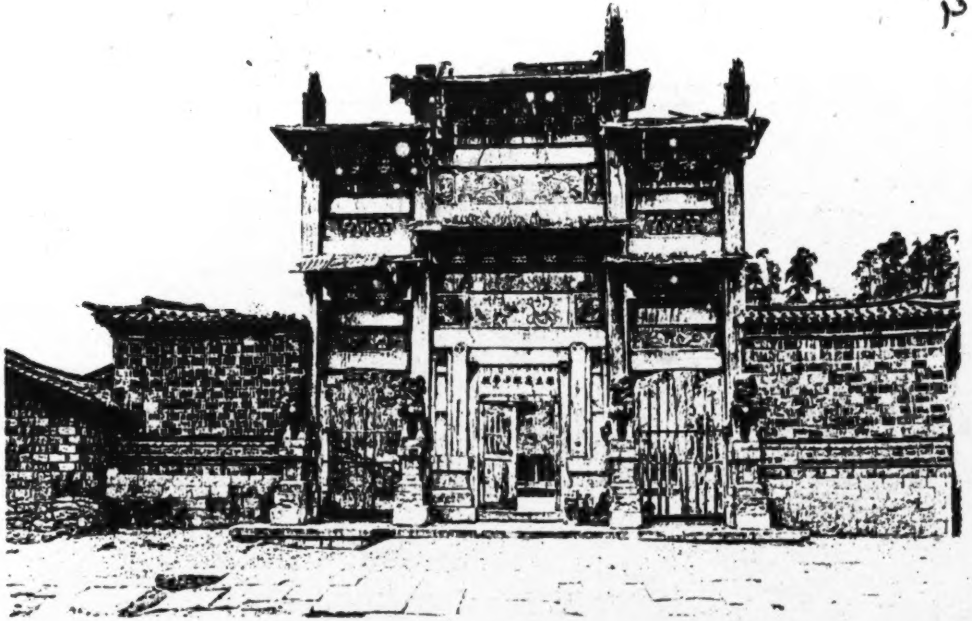


PLATE 30. — MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏石牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

173
292

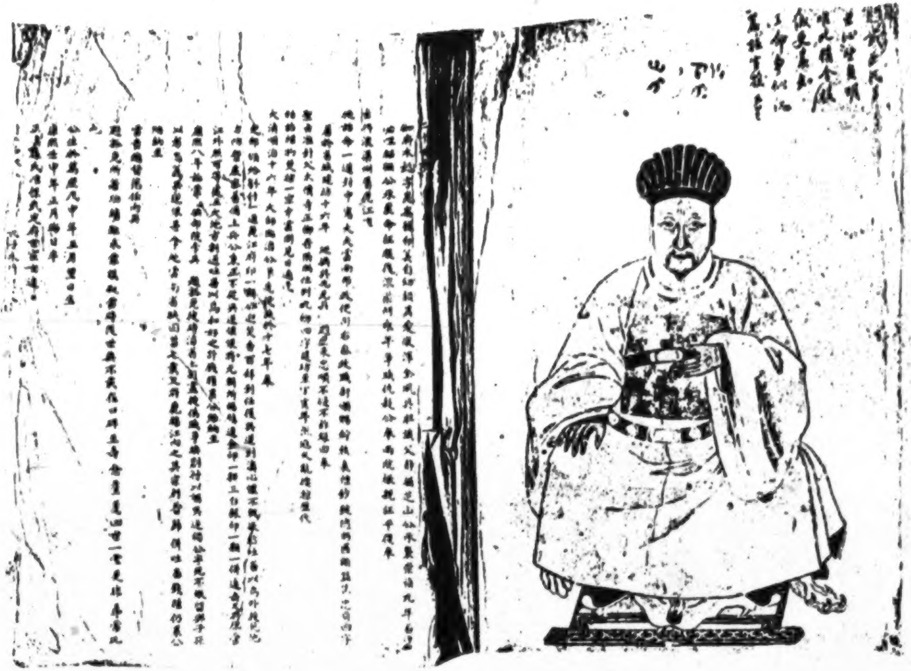


PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION. MU I

木 懿 二 十 世 考

[p. 43-0]

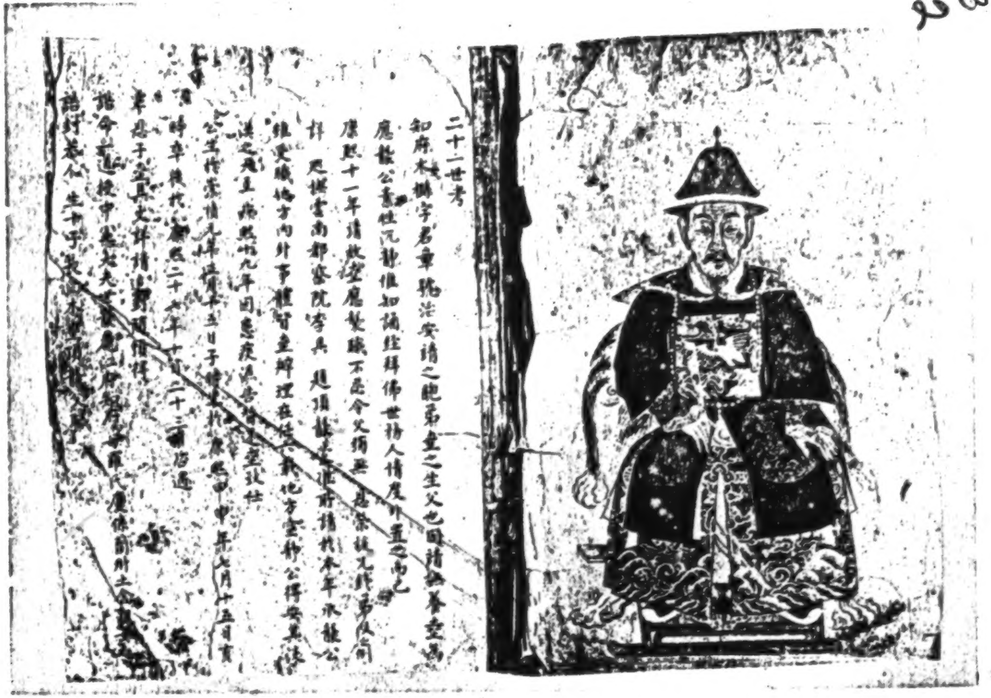


PLATE 32. — THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION OF THE SECOND CHRONICLE. MU YU

第二木氏宦譜二十一世考木[illegible]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173
292

[p,43P]

PART II

THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

"RECORDS OF LI-CHIANG"

173 The following brief historical account of the Li-chiang district has been taken mainly from the Records of the prefecture of Li-chiang (*Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 麗江府志略), which is dated the 15th day of the third moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty 大清紀 (April 9th, 1743). It was written by the Li-chiang magistrate, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣, whose literary name was Wei T'ing 未亭. He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi) and received the degree of Doctor in 1718. He took office as magistrate of Li-chiang in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736). He was evidently still holding that office when he wrote the Records as he figures as the last magistrate in that work. A preface was written to it by the Inspector, or Hsün-ch'a 巡察 for the Western political Division or I-hsi Tao (迤西道), Chu Feng-ying 朱鳳英, dated the 1st day of the tenth moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 16th, 1743). Another preface was written by Chang Yün-sui 張允隨. He was a Chinese Bordered Yellow Bannerman, and previous to becoming Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, he held many minor positions, such as magistrate of Ch'u-hsiung, and provincial treasurer of Kuei-chou. These are the first and only records ever written of Li-chiang, both before and after it came under complete Chinese jurisdiction in 1723. There exist, as far as I am aware, only two copies of these records. One is in Li-chiang, in the joint possession of two families, the other is in the Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai) Catholic Mission Library (Shang-hai Hsü-chia-hui T'ien-chu t'ang-ts'ang-shu lou 上海徐家匯天主堂藏書樓). Through the kindness of the late Mr. Mu Shu 木樞, a descendant of the old Na-khi chiefs residing in Li-chiang, I obtained the loan of the record in Li-chiang for the purpose of having it copied. It is not in the Yün-nan Government Library, but the Peiping National Library and the Peiping Palace Library possess the second half of the work in manuscript form.[1]

In the general introduction we meet with these pompous opening sentences: "The great enterprise of turning a frontier, barren and desolate, into a civilized country within a short space of time, can never be accomplished by one or two

---

[1] The records I found in Li-chiang were in very bad condition, they were printed on very thin paper and many characters had become illegible. I therefore had the Zi-ka-wei Li-chiang records copied, through the kindness of the late Rev. P. C. Baumert, Librarian. In the Department of Education in Li-chiang there is a manuscript copy of a Li-chiang hsien chih which has never been printed, it dates from the 10th year of Kuang-hsü (1884). I had it copied in 1941 but it was lost with the translations of over 700 Mo-so manuscripts, Tibetan books and other rare mss., in the Arabian Sea due to enemy action in the spring of 1944.

[p. 45]

173 subjects only of our Imperial Court. In order to accomplish this arduous task, it is first necessary to appoint a reputable subject, well-experienced in governing, as magistrate of the chief city, one who, through careful management and deep study, will educate the people and correct their customs. Only then will our excellent culture of hundreds and thousands of generations, find root in that land, grow luxuriantly, and unfold its first brilliant flower."

It is said of the writer of the record, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan, that in his leisure time he would call on old scholars of the neighborhood and try to collect from them all remaining manuscripts relating to the history of this district, also maps, and literature about its mountains and rivers, biographies, etc. This enabled him to write the first record of Li-chiang in two *chüan* 卷, an Upper 上 and a Lower 下, each consisting of six chapters. The printing blocks of these records were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. It is very strange that no magistrate since 1736 had the time or interest to keep these records up to date, and issue a new edition, as Li-chiang is one of the most interesting regions and certainly the most beautiful of the entire province.

Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan says that Li-chiang had been part of the Chinese Empire since the days of the Yüan dynasty, and was at the time he wrote (1743) a safe rampart of the western frontier of Yün-nan. He tells us that the officials of the Yüan and Ming dynasties had adopted only a vague policy in ruling the district and did nothing to mitigate the pain and misery of its people. And, furthermore, "that it had been said that instead of naturalizing them (the Na-khi) into Chinese, those Chinese officials who governed them were themselves naturalized by the Barbarians." The record further states that "the people were employed by their magistrates to do transport work, open the jungle, and become soldiers to fight the bloodiest battles and to sacrifice their lives for the safety of our country. Not a single word of comfort and encouragement, nor any show of mercy or grace, had ever been delivered to these people by past officials." Thus reads Kuan's indictment of the officials who ruled Li-chiang. Kuan held his post under the Manchu regime, and therefore it is easy to see why he enlarges on the benefits the people derived from the Imperial Manchu rule, and why he says that they (the Na-khi) "are now of one mind and of one voice." And this was said to have been due "to the great influence, inspiration, benevolence and mercy exhibited by the Manchu dynasty for 60 years." This was written 20 years after the Chinese had taken over the administration of Li-chiang.

Their magistrate asks these questions: "Why did the Barbarians apply for naturalization in 1723? Why did they not remain in their peaceful barbarian state?" And he answers them with this phrase: "*They had been attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass.*" He closes his preface by stating that "he dare not say that he established anything for these people, but that the bright future and the hopes of Li-chiang will certainly depend upon future capable magistrates of *superior quality*."

The viceroy in his preface states that "prior to the nationalization of Li-chiang, its native chieftains or local magistrates oppressed the people, they were violent, cruel, greedy and lustful." It is given as a fact that the chief had the right and privilege to deflower any bride, who could only return to her legal, newly-wed husband after having spent three days with the chief.

173

It was this latter violence which the people could bear the least and which caused them to apply for naturalization. The viceroy closes his preface by saying that "he is pleased to see that the Imperial Rule has spread its influence even to this farthest and *desolate* land, whose people are living a quiet life, and who lack nothing to satisfy their desires."

It is doubtful, however, if the pious hopes expressed by Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan have ever been fulfilled.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE REGION

173 The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (*see* pp. 5-6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然于, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹[1] and Yeh-yü 楪榆[2] petitioned to become subjects of the

---

[1] The regions to the north of Tso-tu 筰都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lüeh* 汶志紀略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虒縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chün 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu-ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo ཐེ་བོ (The-bu) country 迭部 (T'ich-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yu kung 禹貢 Min Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

133 The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 陽布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

[p.48]

Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma 173 Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 莋 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

---

south as the Ta shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source 133 south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. ROCK, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西傾山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[2] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient 101 days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 姑繒 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定莋 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大莋 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 莋 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 莋都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 莋 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

● 173 郭昌 and Wei Kuang 衛廣[4] were ordered to subjugate the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷[5] who had not yet been humiliated and brought into subjection. At that time the king of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) returned to allegiance and was given a royal seal. His land was made into the State of I chou 益州郡.

At first Emperor Wu Ti sent messengers to Tien to seek a way to the Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國 (India — the region of the basin of the Sindh River or Indus). Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, King of Tien,[6] asked the messengers: "Which kingdom is the greater, the kingdom of Han, or my kingdom?" When the messengers returned and reported this question to the Son of Heaven, he was angered at the disloyal words, and caused a lake to be dug in the south-west of the Imperial city of Ch'ang-an 長安[7] in the same shape as the lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu lake) for the purpose of carrying on manœuvers on the water. In the meantime the kingdom of Tien was attacked and pacified, and the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡 was established, to which the hsien of Ting-tso 定笮縣 (Li-chiang) belonged. A short time afterwards another envoy was sent, but communications with K'un-ming were again interrupted.

During that time, Jen-kuo 仁果,[8] descendant of King Pai-fan 白飯 of T'ien-

---

[4] These two generals were sent to war with K'un-ming because the latter repeatedly obstructed the road to the envoys of Han. They decapitated several ten thousand and made many prisoners, after which they left. In spite of this, the Han envoys, which later were again sent to K'un-ming, met with hostility in Yün-nan, and no Han embassy ever managed to pass through K'un-ming. — From the *Shih* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 12a.

[5] There were three regional barbarian tribes: the Hsi-nan-i, Hsi-i, and Nan-i (South-western, Western, and Southern barbarians respectively). There is a statement in the *Tien-yün li-nien-chuan*, ch. 2, fol. 8b, that the K'un-ming-i 昆明夷 are the present-day Mo-so and Li-su of Li-chiang, actually those outside of T'a-ch'eng 塔城, La-p'u 喇普 and other places west of the Yangtze, on the road to Tibet from Yün-nan, etc. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 400, fol. 5a, states that the Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣 of the Han dynasty was afterwards captured by the Man-i. During the reign of Chou Wu Ti 周武帝 (561–578) there was established Ting-tso chen 鎭. In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (610), the district or hsien of K'un-ming was established in the *chen*. The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 2b states that there were three K'un-ming. The *Han Shu* says K'un-ming extended from T'ung-shih 桐師 north-east to Yeh-yü (Ta-li); this is the Sui 嶲 (Sui chou) K'un-ming and is the present Pao-shan 保山 — Yung-ping 永平 (south-west of Ta-li). In the second year of T'ang Wu-te (619) Sui chou established a K'un-ming hsien which is the Ssu-ch'uan Yen-yüan hsien of to-day. The third was one of three *chou*, viz.: Yin 殷, Tsung 總, Tun 敦州; but which one is now not known. None of these three K'un-ming, however, is identical with the present-day K'un-ming, the former Yün-nan fu.

[6] As Wu Ti ruled from 140–87 B.C., Ch'ang Ch'iang must have been King of Tien during that period. In the Hsi-nan-i of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 95, fol. 3b, the name of the King of Tien is given as Tang Ch'iang 嘗羌. The sending of these messengers to India via the Kingdom of Tien took place between the first and fourth year of Yüan-shou 元狩 (122–119 B.C.), for it states that after four years, that is, after 119 B.C., the road to K'un-ming 昆明 (Yün-nan) was closed.

[7] Hsi-an fu on the Wei Shui 渭水 in the present province of Shensi.

[8] As the King of Tien, Ch'ang Ch'iang, was entirely engrossed in the Buddhist religion and cared nothing for affairs of state, the peasants made Jen-kuo King of Pai-ngai. Jen-kuo was a descendant of Pai-fan Wang, whose name meant "white rice."

Jen-kuo now governed Pai-ngai (the present Hung-ngai 紅崖), and as both he and Ch'ang Ch'iang contended for the kingdom, Han Wu Ti afterwards established Jen-kuo as ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國. SAINSON, in his translation of the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, makes a mistake in translating the word *t'ui* as "to expel, chase"; *t'ui* in this instance means "to chu Kuo 天竺國 (India), was elected by the masses as King of Tien. He established his capital at the city of Pai-ngai and called his kingdom Pai-tzu Kuo. 173 Thus the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 family came to an end.

In the 12th year of the period Yung-p'ing 永平 of Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 69), Liu-mao 柳貌, King of Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國,[9] submitted to the Imperial rule, and his kingdom became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (Records of the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang), ch. 9, fol. 1b, states that

---

elect, to promote." He translates the passage 仁果者爲衆所推立於白崖, by "Jen-kouo, chassé par son peuple, s'était établi à Pai-yai," while it should read, "Jen-kuo, elected by his people, established himself at Pai-ai."

[9] The founder of the Ai-lao Kingdom was Chiu-lung 九隆. The State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, now called Pao-shan hsien 保山縣, between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 (the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝) was the ancient Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國. Its name was derived from Ai-lao Shan 哀牢山. This mountain is 20 li east of Yung-ch'ang fu (Pao-shan hsien), and it is also called T'ien-ching Shan 天井山. The Barbarian, Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, of the State of Ai-lao, went fishing in lake Chiu-lung 九龍池 (also called I-lo Ch'ih 易羅池) and was drowned. His wife, Sha-i 沙壹, who lived on the slopes of Ai-lao Shan, went to weep on the shore of the lake. She was struck by a floating log, felt affected, and after ten months gave birth to a son — and in all to ten sons.

Afterwards she conducted her ten sons to the shore of the lake. The log changed into a dragon and said to her, "Where are my sons?" Nine of the ten sons were frightened and ran away. The youngest remained, and the dragon licked its back. In the language of the Ai-lo man (savages), *chiu* 九 meant "back" and *lung* 隆 "to sit" or "to keep one's seat." It is from this that the family name Chiu-lung 九隆 originated.

Another tradition relates that the woman Sha-i was fishing for herself when she was struck by the log, etc.; and that at the foot of Ai-lao Shan there lived another woman, by the name of Nu-po-hsi 奴波息, who gave birth to ten daughters. These latter became the wives of the Chiu family brothers. They established ten clans, as follows: Tung 董, Hung 洪, Tuan 段, Shih 施, Ho 何, Wang 王, Chang 張, Yang 楊, Li 李 and Chao 趙. They multiplied, so that there were many grandchildren, and they all lived on the mountain of Chiu-lung 九龍山. This mountain is seven li south-west of Yung-ch'ang; according to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, it is west of Pao-shan hsien, 10 li outside the Lung-ch'üan men 龍泉門 (Dragon-spring gate).

The *Pei-cheng-chih* says Yüan-lung 元隆 instead of Chiu-lung, apparently a misprint.

After the death of Chiu-lung, his direct descendants inherited the sovereignty from generation to generation. Later some of the brothers separated and established smaller States. The subjects of these princes dwelled in valleys and ravines, protected by the mountains and streams. They later separated into 99 tribes, from whom originated the Nan-chao (Kingdom).

To return to Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, who was also known as Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴兜: He was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. The latter, who had nine sons, was himself the son of P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低, also known as A-yü Wang (Aśoka the Sorrowless), sovereign of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, and his wife Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧.

Ti-meng-chu, as related, had nine sons; the first was Meng-chü-fu-lo 蒙苴馮羅, who was the ancestor of the Sixteen Kingdoms. The second, Meng-chü-lien 蒙苴廉, was ancestor of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans); the third, Meng-chü-no 蒙苴諾, of the Han-jen 漢人 (Chinese); the fourth, Meng-chü-ch'ou 蒙苴酬, of the Tung man 東蠻 (Eastern savages). The fifth son, Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴兜, had 12 sons: seven were saints, five were sages, and they were the ancestors of the Meng family. The sixth son, Meng-chu-t'o 蒙苴託, was the ancestor of the Shih-tzu Kuo 獅子國 (Lion Kingdom) — Simha or Simhala (Ceylon). The seventh, Meng-chü-lin 蒙苴林, was the ancestor of Chiao-chih Kuo 交趾國 (the Hanoi region in Tonkin); the eighth, Meng-chü-sung 蒙苴頌, of Jen-kuo 仁果, ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國; the ninth, Meng-chü-ch'u 蒙苴閦, of the Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians), that is, the Tai (Shan), who occupy the lower regions in southern Yün-nan, which begin at from 4,000 feet down.

● 173 "in the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties it was the land of Jung chou 戎州, and that outside this south-west border was Ai-lao Kuo, originally called An-lo Kuo 安樂國, and in the language of the barbarians incorrectly called Ai-lao." It says further that it was spoken of as Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國. It was the kingdom west of Shu 蜀, the present-day Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang). [According to this, Pao-shan is identical with Shen-tu Kuo, always considered to be a name for India, and especially for the region of the basin of the Indus]. The Chiu-lung family lived there, and had no intercourse with China.

Under the Han dynasty. — In the first year of the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of Han Wu Ti (122 B.C.), the land of the south-western barbarians was opened, and the first connection was with Po-nan. The district of Pu-wei 不韋縣 was then established under the Chün of I chou 益州郡. In the first year of Yung-p'ing 永平 of the Later Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 58) the different barbarians revolted again. Thereupon the magistrate Chang Hsi 張翕 of I chou punished and pacified them. There was then established the Chün of Lan ts'ang 瀾滄郡 and the two hsien of Po-nan 博南[10] and Ai-lao 哀牢.[11] In the 12th year of the same emperor (69), in the spring, Ai-lao submitted and their territory became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang 永昌郡 to which were ceded six additional hsien from the western part of the Chün of I chou 益州.[12] The above-mentioned six hsien were called: Pu-wei 不韋, Sui-t'ang 巂唐, Pi-su 比蘇, Yeh-yü, Hsieh-lung 邪龍 and Yün-nan.[13] At that time Li-chiang belonged to Hsieh-lung hsien 邪龍縣.

In the second year of the period Chien-ch'u 建初 of Han Chang Ti 章帝 (A.D. 77), Lui-lao 類牢, son of Liu-mao 柳貌 (ancient King of the Ai-lao) rebelled. Lu-ch'eng 鹵承, leader of the K'un-ming-man 昆明蠻 (K'un-ming

---

[10–11] Po-nan was east of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. The latter was 170 li north-east of Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang), between the latter city and Ta-li. Ai-lao hsien was south-west of Yung-ch'ang and was the ancient (Ngai) Ai lao wang's kingdom. The *Ta-ch'ing I-tung-chih* (Great Geography of the Chinese Empire) says it is east of Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan hsien 保山縣).

[12] The *Tien hsiao chi*, fol. 15b, states: "I chou is the Ch'eng-tu of Ssu-ch'uan. Wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) said that I chou was very difficult to control. Han Wu Ti (in the 2nd year of Yüan-feng, 109 B.C.) took the kingdom of Tien 滇王國, and established I-chou Chün; this is the region between K'un-ming and Ta-li. The *Han chih* 漢志 states that I chou was divided and Yung-ch'ang Chün was established but was still part of I chou. The I chou of Tien (Yün-nan) was first, and the I chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) was established later by Liu Yen 劉焉 (about the 3rd year of Chung-p'ing 中平, A.D. 186), who was its governor. (Liu Yen was a native of Ching-ling 竟陵 and lived on the mountains of Yang-ch'eng 陽城山. He later moved from Mien-chu 綿竹 in Ssu-ch'uan to Ch'eng-tu whence he governed I chou). Later people only knew of the Ssu-ch'uan I chou, and did not know that the first or earlier I chou existed in Yün-nan."

[13] The first hsien, Pu-wei, is identical with the present-day Pao-shan hsien 保山縣 (Yung-ch'ang) and was north-west of Yung-ch'ang fu. It ceased to exist in the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265). Sui-t'ang was situated in the present Yün-lung hsien 雲龍縣, and so was Pi-su hsien. The former was south of Yün-lung, and the latter was west of it. As regards Sui-t'ang, D'HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS in his part translation of Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung kao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine meridionaux*, p. 176, says, "Territoire actuel de Li-kiang," which is wrong. Yeh-yü was south-east of the present Ta-li fu. Hsieh-lung was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山, the present La-pao 剌寶 (Na-khi, La-bpu) north of Li-chiang within the Yangtze loop. Yün-nan hsien is 100 li south-east of Feng-i 鳳儀 (Chao chou 趙州) and is the Hsiang-yün 祥雲 of to-day.

173

savages), recruited many soldiers and with the combined forces of many other States attacked Lui-lao at Po-nan 博南 in the Chün of Yung-ch'ang, where the latter was defeated and slain. The Emperor then conferred on Lu-ch'eng the honorary title of P'o-lu-p'ang-i hou 破虜旁邑侯 (Marquis of the conquered frontier districts).

The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (ed. 1785), ch. 5, fol. 1b, states: "In the first year of the period Chien-ch'u (76) Lui-lao, King of the Ai-lao, killed the magistrate. Wang Hsün 王尋, prefect of Yüeh-sui 越巂, recruited 20,000 soldiers from Yeh-yü (Ta-li) and Ai-lao. He attacked Po-nan and burnt all its houses. In the following year (77) the various barbarians competed with one another in attacking Lui-lao, who was there defeated and killed. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 31, fol. 5a, it says that Lu-ch'eng assisted Wang Hsün's recruiting of soldiers.

During the Three Kingdoms. — In the third year of Shu Han Chien-hsing 建興 (225) Yung-k'ai 雍闓, leader of I chou, rebelled and, slaying the T'ai-shou 太守 (prefect), submitted in person to the Imperial rule of the Kingdom of Wu 吳 (222–280), one of the Three Kingdoms 三國. On a southern expedition, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮[14] crossed the Lu Shui 瀘水[15] with his troops from Yüeh-sui 越巂, marched to Pai-ngai, killed Yung-k'ai 雍闓 and captured Meng-huo 孟獲.[16]

The followers of Meng-huo besieged Li-hui 李恢 at K'un-ming. In the meantime Chu-ko Liang quartered his troops on the bank of the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween), on the border of Li-chiang district, and subjugated I chou, Yung-ch'ang, Tsang-ko and Yüeh-sui.[17] I chou was then changed into Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡; the Commandery of Yün-nan 雲南郡 was also established, and both Chien-ning and Yung-ch'ang were placed under its administrative control.

---

[14] Born in 181, died 234; a native of Shan-tung. He returned from this southern expedition to subdue the border tribes, even reaching Burma in January, 226, or the twelfth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing.

[15] The Lu Shui is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅礱江, also known as Chin Chiang 金江; its ancient name is Jo Shui 若水. The *Tu-shih Fang-yu chih-yao*, ch. 66, fol. 22a, states that Chu-ko Liang crossed the Lu Shui in the fifth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing (June–July, 225). The fifth moon commenced in that year on June 24th.

[16] Yung-k'ai, the leader or chief of I chou (Yün-nan), and his cunning servants, killed Wang Ang 王昂, prefect of Chien-ning 建寧, and made his submission to the State of Wu 吳, one of the Three Kingdoms; thereupon the King of Wu, Sun Ch'üan 孫權, nominated Yung-k'ai prefect of Yung-ch'ang, but Chu-ko Liang, who was sent against the tribes of the south by the Shu Han 蜀漢, killed Yung-k'ai. Meng-huo was a prince who had rebelled against the State of Shu, and was in league with Yung-k'ai, hence Chu-ko Liang took him prisoner. It was this Meng-huo who had been captured seven times and released seven times by Chu-ko Liang. Overcome by the generosity of the latter, he led his wife, brother and relatives to the Marquis's tent and submitted, saying: "I and my son and son's sons will remember your grace, and will be loyal." Chu-ko Liang confirmed Meng and his family in their princedom.

[17] I-chou Chün comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan; Yung-ch'ang Chün, the territory of the present Pao-shan hsien 保山縣; Tsang-ko comprised parts of Kuei-chou 貴州 and eastern Yün-nan, such as Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, Lo-p'ing 羅平, Lu-liang chou 陸涼州 and Chan-i chou 霑益州; Yüeh-sui, the region of the Chien-ch'ang valley 建昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. Li-chiang belonged to the latter and was then called Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣.

● 173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晋寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

---

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chün 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133
312
[21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 罷谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien. 173

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賧詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 瀰茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

---

through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775. 312 133

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關). 173

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

173 petition the Emperor on his behalf to permit the combining of the other five chao with his into one kingdom. The Emperor sanctioned his petition. At that time Po-ch'ung 波衝,[26] King of Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Li-chiang), was murdered by Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求, a violent chieftain. The land of the five kingdoms combined was then given to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 (779), Ko-lo-feng[27] died and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, succeeded to the throne. He allied himself with the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans) and invaded China. The Emperor then sent Li Sheng 李晟,[28] the Shen-ts'e-tu chiang 神策都將 (General of divine strategy), to defeat him.

In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 of Emperor Te Tsung 德宗 (784), I-mou-hsün changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-li Kuo 大理國 (this is the first appearance of the name Ta-li; *see* Note 34. p. 32). He usurped the Imperial right to confer the titles of Wu-yo 五嶽 (the five sacred mountains) and Ssu-tu 四瀆 (the four rivers of China) on his own five mountains and four rivers respectively. He thus conferred on the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (which extends from north to south, west of Ta-li and its lake), the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central Yo); on the Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山, at the border of Tung-ch'uan 東川 in north-eastern Yün-nan, the title of Tung-yo 東嶽 (Eastern Yo); on the Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山, better known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山 on the borders of Yin-sheng-pu 銀生部,[29] the title of Nan-yo 南嶽 (Southern Yo); on the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山,[30] on the borders of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the title of Hsi-yo 西嶽 (Western Yo); on Yü-

---

place in the 18th year of K'ai-yüan (730 instead of 728). P'i-lo-ko then made himself King of the Nan-ch (Nan-chao Wang 南詔王). The *Tien-hsi* under chapter *Tien-ku* 典故 (Traditions), fol. 35a, states that at the end of the K'ai-yüan period (about 741) P'i-lo-ko pursued the Ho-man 河蠻 (River savages) and captured T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城 (under Ho-man must be understood the dwellers along the shores of the Hsi-erh Ho or Ta-li Lake). He bribed the Ch'ien-nan Chieh-tu-shih, Wang Yu, to petition the Emperor on his behalf to unite the Liu chao into one kingdom. The date given here does not agree with that of the previously mentioned work.

[26] Po-ch'ung was the founder of Yüeh-hsi chao, which was also called Mo-so chao 摩些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom). He resided at Sui chou 巂州, the present Li-chiang. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 17b, states that the wife of Po-ch'ung was very beautiful and that Chang Hsün-ch'iu had immoral intercourse with her. It was on that account that he killed her husband, Po-ch'ung. The Nan-chao King reported this to Wang Yü, who came to Yao chou 姚州 (this was in the southernmost part of Chien-nan, adjoining the Nan-chao Kingdom). They succeeded by a ruse in getting Chang Hsün-ch'iu to come to Yao chou, where they killed him. The land of Mo-so chao was then given to Nan-chao.

[27] Ko-lo-feng was the son of P'i-lo-ko. He ascended the throne of Nan-chao at the age of 36, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (748). I-mou-hsün was 24 years of age when he ascended the throne of Nan-chao in 778, one year prior to his grandfather's demise. He transferred his capital to Shih-ch'eng 史城 (the latter is 40 li north of Ta-li and is the present-day Hsi-chou 喜洲, inhabited by Min-chia). It was also known as Ta-li ch'eng 大釐城.

[28] Li Sheng was a native of Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kan-su. He was 18 years of age when he joined the army and six Chinese feet tall. He was fearless and courageous.

[29] The present-day Ching-tung 景東 on the Ta Ho 大河 (Chung-ch'uan Ho 中川河).

[30] On the Chinese map it is called the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎貢山 and also Mo-p'an Shan 磨盤山, and is 120 li east of T'eng-ch'ung. It extends from north to south, west of the Salween River.

lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain, or Li-chiang snow range), he conferred the title of Pei-yo 北嶽 (Northern Yo). On each of the five mountains he built a temple to the mountain-spirit, and a San-huang miao 三皇廟 (Temple to the three emperors — the Three primordial sovereigns: Fu Hsi 伏羲, Shen Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黃帝). Sacrifices were offered to them on the respective festivals of the four seasons (See also Part III, Ch. II, The Jade dragon Mountain, etc., p. 187–101). On the four great rivers of Yün-nan, the Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong), the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of golden sand or Yangtze), the Hei-hui Chiang 黑惠江, better known as Yang-pi Chiang 漾濞江, which is a tributary of the Mekong and has its source south-west of Li-chiang, and the Lu Chiang 潞江 (Salween), he bestowed the title of the Ssu Tu 四瀆 (Four great rivers).

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元 (793) I-mou-hsün sent messengers to the Emperor applying for permission to make a surprise attack on the T'u-fan 吐蕃 in concert with Wei Kao 韋皋.[21] Thereupon he was appointed King of Yün-nan by Imperial decree. In the 10th year (794) Wei Kao employed I-mou-hsün's troops to attack the Tibetans and thoroughly defeated them. He cut the Iron Bridge, captured sixteen cities, and made prisoner five Tibetan kings whom he presented as captives of war at the Imperial Court. (The T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋, Iron Bridge, is in the Chü-tien 巨甸 area the former Chü-chin chou 巨津州 in the Li-chiang district.)

Meanwhile the T'u-fan tried to enlist soldiers in the Nan-chao Kingdom. I-mou-hsün deceived them by saying he was weak and his army numbered few, and so he could only send 5,000 soldiers to comply with their request. At the same time he secretly led several ten thousand soldiers, following at the heels of the Tibetans. He routed them completely at Shen-ch'uan 神川[22] (the territory of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of the Cheng-yüan period (799) Wei Kao and the Nan-chao Kingdom again defeated the T'u-fan at the Iron Bridge.

In the second year of the period T'ai-ho 太和 (828), Wang Tso-tien 王嵯巔,[23]

---

[21] Wei Kao was a native of Wan-nien hsien 萬年縣 in the prefecture of Ching-chao (fu) 京兆府, the present Hsi-an in Shensi. Wan-nien hsien was established in the fu of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) in the 2nd year of Ming Ti of the northern Chou dynasty (A.D. 558). He was born in 745, and according to the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 236, fol. 25a, he died in the eighth moon *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 of the 1st year of Shun Tsung period Yung-cheng 順宗永貞 (September 13th, 805). O. FRANKE in his *Geschichte des Chin. Reich.* III: 307, says he died in 806, in the year in which Shun Tsung started his reign. Now Shun Tsung ascended the throne on the day *ping-shen* 丙申, that is the 26th of the first moon of the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (February 28th, 805). He adopted Yung-cheng as his reign title on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the eighth moon (September 1st, 805), he abdicated the same month, and died on the day *chia-shen* 甲申, of the first moon of the first year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (February 11th, 806). Wei Kao ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans.

[22] According to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 22a, the part north of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 (the present region of Chü-tien 巨甸) of the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) was also called Shen-ch'uan 神川. This name was only applied to that territory and stretch of the river during the T'ang dynasty.

[23] Wang Tso-tien was a Chieh-tu-shih (Imperial commissioner) of Lung-tung 弄棟. This latter place was north of Yao chou where there was an ancient walled town; during the Han dynasty it was the district of Lung-tung 弄棟縣. It was inhabited by Man (savages). I-mou-hsün pacified the region. Wang Tso-tien received many valuable gifts from the

173 a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, plundered and invaded the three chou cities, as Chiung 邛 (west of Ch'eng-tu 成都 in Ssu-ch'uan); Jung 戎 (in the Chien-nan 劍南 district of Ssu-ch'uan during the T'ang dynasty, and the present-day I-pin 宜賓 [Hsü chou 叙州); and Sui 嶲 (also in the ancient Chien-nan district of Ssu-ch'uan, the present-day Yüeh-sui 越嶲 in the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley).

He also plundered Ch'eng-tu and entered its territory.

In the fourth year of T'ai-ho (830), Li Te-yü 李德裕[34] was appointed Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih 西川節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Hsi-ch'uan.[35] He constructed the city walls of Chang-i 仗義城, Yü-wu 禦侮城 and Jo-yüan 柔遠, which were considered important strategical points. He restored the Chiung-lai Pass 邛崍關 (this pass is 80 li west of the hsien city of Jung-ching 榮經縣 in the district of Ya chou in Ssu-ch'uan; it was the dividing line between the Chiung 邛 and Tso 筰 tribes) which he returned to the control of Sui chou 嶲州. He also governed the affairs of T'ai-teng 台登 (the territory of Li-chiang). Li-chiang belonged to the same territory but was, of course, not identical with T'ai-teng hsien. The latter was in the district of Sui chou and was part of the present day Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣, north of Ning-yüan fu (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌).

In the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天復, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (902) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣,[36] the Ch'ing-p'ing kuan 清平官 (Incorruptible tranquilizing official), of the Nan-chao Kingdom, killed his master Shun-hua-chen 舜化貞 and, destroying the Meng family, usurped the throne and called his kingdom the Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great excelling peaceful Kingdom).

In the first year of the period T'ien-ch'eng 天成 of T'ang Ming Tsung 明宗 (926), Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 of Tung-ch'uan 東川,[37] killed Cheng Lung-t'an 鄭隆亶, grandson of Cheng Mai-ssu, and

---

Nan-chao King, Ch'üan-li-sheng 勸利晟, who even accorded him his own family name Meng, and invested him with the title of T'ai-yung 太容. This, in the language of the barbarians, meant T'ai-hsiung 太兄 (Great or beloved elder brother). This latter explanation can be found in the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 4, fol. 40b. In the same work it states, fol. 40a, that Wang Tso-tien killed Ch'üan-lung-sheng 勸龍晟, King of Nan-chao and elder brother of Ch'üan-li-sheng, who succeeded him on the throne. The former was licentious and oppressed the people, and it was on account of his tyranny that his minister killed him. In 810 he was disgraced by the king, but later pardoned for all his crimes. — *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. I, fol. 20b.

[34] Li Te-yü was a native of Chao-chün 趙郡 and for a time was governor of the modern Ch'eng-tu, Ssu-ch'uan. He was also president of the Board of War, but later was impeached and banished to Ai chou 崖州 (Yai chou, in Kuang-tung), where he died (GILES).

[35] The Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih was also called the Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan 劍南西川, etc.; he governed Ch'eng-tu fu, and many chou cities, as, for example, Jung chou, Chiung chou 邛州, Sui chou 嶲州, Tieh chou 疊州 (south of the Kan-su Min Shan 岷山 in the valley of the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江, the present T'ieh-pu 鐵布 country), and others.

[36] He was first a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, and ascended the throne at the age of 42. He ruled from 902 to 910. His reign title was An-kuo 安國 (Peaceful kingdom) and his capital Ta-li.

Shun-hua-chen was the last Nan-chao King of the Meng family. He ascended the throne at the age of 21, and ruled from 897 to 902.

[37] The latter comprised parts of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan; the present Hui-tse 會澤 (Tung-ch'uan) in north-east Yün-nan was the southern part of the Tung-ch'uan of the T'ang dynasty.

made his Imperial attendant, Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, King of Nan-chao. He changed the dynastic title to Ta T'ien-hsing 大天興; it was also called Hsing-yüan Kuo 興源國. The dynasty lasted only one year.

In the third year of T'ien-ch'eng (928) Yang Kan-cheng deposed Chao Shan-cheng and made himself King of Nan-chao, and called his dynasty and kingdom Ta I-ning, or Ta I-ning Kuo 大義寧國. This dynasty lasted until 937. In 929 he called his reign Hsing-sheng 興聖 and later Ta-ming 大明.

Under the Later Chin dynasty. — In the first year of the period of T'ien-fu 天福 of Hou Chin Kao Tsu 高祖 (936), Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平, the Chieh-tu-shih of T'ung-hai 通海 (this prefecture is 150 li north of Lin-an fu 臨安府, the present-day Chien-shui 建水 of evil repute, and east-south-east of K'un-ming), commenced military operations to punish Yang Kan-cheng. In the third year (938), Tuan Ssu-p'ing[35] made himself King of Nan-chao and changed the dynastic title to Ta-li 大理.

Under the Sung dynasty. — In the third year of the period Ch'ien-te 乾德 of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (965), Wang Ch'üan-pin 王全斌[36] offered a map of Yün-nan to the Emperor and requested his orders to conquer Yün-nan, but in vain.

After Wang Ch'üan-pin had subdued Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) he wished to use his military prestige to conquer Yün-nan, therefore he again offered the map to the Emperor. However, T'ai Tsu, who well understood the source of the trouble suffered by the T'ang dynasty, made a mark with his jade axe on the

[35] In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 64a, it states that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished Yang Kan-cheng. The latter was defeated and made his way to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh, four stages north-east of the latter) and committed suicide by strangulation. It further states that he was a tyrant, and oppressed the people, and was thus disliked by Chinese and aborigines. It was for this reason that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished him. Yang Kan-cheng sent his five younger brothers to attack Tuan, but they were unsuccessful.

Strange to say, the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 1, fol. 32b, records that Tuan Ssu-p'ing, after he became king, forgave Yang Kan-cheng and that the latter became a Buddhist monk.

Tuan Ssu-ping ruled until 944. He was 44 years old when he made himself king. His reign title was Wen-te 文德 and his capital Ta-li fu. His posthumous title was T'ai-tsu sheng-shen Wen-wu Huang-ti 太祖聖神文武皇帝. The Ta-li dynasty had 14 rulers and lasted until 1094.

The ancestors of Tuan Ssu-p'ing, according to the Nan-chao History, were natives of Wu-wei 武威郡, the region now forming the prefectural city of Liang chou 涼州 in north-west Kan-su. The *Pei-cheng-chih* says that his ancestors came from Kuang-wei 廣威, south-east of Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su, which belonged to the Chün of Wu-wei. [Wu-wei hsien is only 60 li from the Mongolian border.] Since the revolution Liang chou has again been changed to Wu-wei hsien.

For generations these ancestors were generals of the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom. Tuan Ssu-p'ing was the sixth generation after Tuan Chien-wei 段儉魏, who defeated the troops of the T'ang dynasty in 754 near the Ta-li Lake and the Tien-ts'ang Mountains 點蒼山.

[36] Wang Ch'üan-pin, according to the *Sung Shih* (Sung Dynastic History), ch. 255, fol. 13b, was a native of T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in Ping chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan, Shan-hsi 山西 province). He was a military commander who conquered Shu 蜀 after which he intended to take Yün-nan. The Emperor admonished him saying: "The barbarians will obey us without the use of soldiers and without conquering them."

173 map, where the Ta-tu River 大渡河[40] was shown, saying: "Beyond this point the land is no longer my territory." Hence Yün-nan became detached from the Chinese Empire and the Tuan family usurped the throne of Nan-chao for 300 years. During that time Li-chiang had been occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 牸牸,[41] leader of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi). The chief who ruled about that time (965) among the Mo-so is given as O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具.

Under the Yüan (Mongols). — In the fourth year of the period of Shun-yu 淳祐 of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1244), the Mongolian troops attacked Ling Kuan 靈關 (Ling Pass).[42] In the battle, Kao Ho 高禾,[43] a Ta-li 大理 general, was killed. After the battle the Mongolian troops withdrew.

In the 12th year of Shun-yu (1252), the Mongols sent troops under Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈), the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Imperial younger brother), to attack Ta-li 大理 (13 stages west of K'un-ming). He led his troops from Lin-t'ao 臨洮[44] across T'u-fan 吐蕃 country to Li-chiang. As the Mongols respected the customs of the people wherever they went, the people turned to allegiance in all sincerity. They then established the civil office of Ch'a-han-chang 茶罕章管民官[45] in Li-chiang.

In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (Kublai Khan)

---

[40] The Ta-tu Ho, with the Ya Ho 雅河, is an affluent of the Min River 岷江. Their confluence is at Chia-ting 嘉定 in Ssu-ch'uan. The source of the Ta-tu Ho is to the north-west of Li-fan t'ing 理番廳 in the Ch'iang 羌 tribal lands of north-west Ssu-ch'uan. It receives affluents from the south-west, such as the Ta-chien-lu Stream. On foreign maps it appears as the T'ung Ho 通河.

[41] In the First Chronicle of the Mu family, the name Ts'u-ts'u appears as Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Muan-zä was the name of Ts'u-ts'u's father (*see* pp. 80–81). According to the First Mu Chronicle, however, Ts'u-ts'u lived 12 generations before Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 who, between 674–675, became Governor of Li-chiang.

[42] The Ling Pass is north-north-west of Ya chou in the prefecture of Lu-shan hsien 蘆山縣, and 60 li distant from the hsien city. In the Han dynasty it belonged to Yüeh-sui 越嶲, to which Li-chiang was subject.

[43] Kao Ho was a general of the Nan-chao army under Hsiang-hsing 祥興, King of the Hou Ta-li Kuo 後大理國 (Nan-chao Kingdom) who ruled from 1238–1251. He sent Kao Ho to fight the Mongols; in the battle the latter lost his life.

[44] Lin-t'ao was in Kan-su, and identical with Ti-tao 狄道 which lately was renamed Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

[45] Ch'a-han-chang is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol Chagh'an jang and means White Jang or Mo so. The first word *Chagh'an* is Mongol, the second *Jang* is Tibetan and is their term for the Mo-so.

Kowalewski in his *Dictionaire Mongol-Russe-Français* Vol. III: 2081a, under *tsaghan* states that the word means white, and that it is also a mourning dress or a white dress, also a white hemp sash or girdle. The Na-khi to this day still wear trousers and coats of white hemp, also white girdles of the same material (homespun). It may be that on account of their dress the Mongols called them Chagh'an jang or White Jang. Pelliot suggests that the word Jang is perhaps identical with the Chinese Ts'uan of which there were two tribes the White and Black, the former lived to the west of Yün-nan fu and were not classed as Lo-lo, the latter lived in the region of Yün-nan fu and to the east of it; these the Mongols called Kara jang and were classed by the Chinese as Lo-lo. However both the Lo-lo and Mo-so (Na-khi) are called Wu-man or Black barbarians by the Chinese.

The word *jang* is often pronounced *jung* and may have some relation to the Chinese Jung 戎 under which term the wild tribes of the west were understood. In the *Dictionaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet*, p. 351, it states that the hJangs, or Jang as the word is pronounced, are a tribe living in the north-western part of the province

(1271), the office of Ch'a-han-chang was changed into that of Li-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssu 麗江宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Li-chiang).

In the 13th year of the same reign (1276) the office was changed to the Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang Lu — Li-chiang Circuit).

In the 22nd year of the same reign (1285) the magistracy of the fu-city was abolished, and there was established the office of the Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (a title given to chieftains of the Western Frontier), which controlled 1,000 Mo-so households (麽些千戶), and ruled over one fu-city, namely Pei-sheng 北勝 (the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝, recently known as Yung-pei 永北 and four stages east of Li-chiang), and seven chou-cities, namely: Shun chou 順州 (east of Li-chiang and also known as Niu-t'an 牛賧); Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖 (east of Li-chiang district between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng [Yung-pei]); Yung-ning 永寧, the ancient name of which was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭賧 (north of Lang-ch'ü and south of Mu-li 木裏, Hsi-k'ang, separated from the Li-chiang district by the Yangtze); T'ung-an 通安 (east of Li-chiang city on the eastern part of the Li-chiang plain, now obsolete); Lan chou 蘭州 (west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and east of the Mekong); Chü-chin 巨津 (north-west of Li-chiang, on the Yangtze, north of Shih-ku 石鼓 and near the present Chü-tien 巨甸, but now obsolete); and Pao-shan 寶山 (the present-day La-pao 剌寶, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang). Also one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi 臨西, west of the ancient Chü-chin chou, to which it belonged; west of Lin-hsi was the land of the T'u-fan. Later the city belonged to Wei-hsi; it was 460 li west of Li-chiang and was set up in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), but is now obsolete.

Under the Ming dynasty. — In the autumn of the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381), Fu Yu-te 傅友德,[46] marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川, was appointed by the Emperor as Cheng-nan chiang-chün 征南將軍 (General of the Southern Expedition); Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平, were both appointed as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Vice-Generals) to attack Yün-nan.

In the spring of the 15th year (1382), Ta li was conquered, and the troops

---

of Yün-nan, whose principal city is Sa-tham (Li-chiang). Their Chinese name is Mo-so and they call themselves Nashi (Na-khi). Sa-tham is the Tibetan name of Li-chiang and is also the name of a king with whom the famous Ge-sar fought battles. The former was the King of Jang — written in Tibetan, Byang (The North). It would seem that *byang* (read *jang*) is in all probability the correct rendering and explanation of the word. (*See* p. 192).

Since this was penned I have learned from Mr. Rolf Stein who is occupied with the translating of Ge-sar legends, that he found in a manuscript of the Ge-sar saga the King Sa-tham styled as "Byang Sa-tham rgyal-po," *i.e.* Sa-tham King of the North.

[46] Fu Yu-te's ancestors were natives of Su chou 宿州 in An-hui 安徽. Later they settled in Tang-shan 碭山 in Chiang su 江蘇 (Kiangsu). Assisted by Mu Ying, who was also a native of An-hui and who in 1384 became governor of Yün-nan, and Lan Yü, another An-hui man, Fu Yu te attacked Yün-nan with 300,000 infantry and cavalry. He came by way of Kuei-chou 貴州 where the Miao 苗 tribes made their submission. A great battle was fought at Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and on the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江 which flows to the north of Ch'ü-ching. All the barbarians of Tung-ch'uan 東川 and Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung 昭通, submitted. Over 30,000 Wu-sa 烏撒, tribespeople who lived in the west-north-west of Kuei-chou and who had revolted, were decapitated. Wu-sa was a district adjoining Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and its inhabitants belonged to the Mang tribe 芒部.

173 of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).[47]

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.[48] Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲苴, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他[49] of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'u T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

647 *Under the Republic.* — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

---

[47] The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (*See* Geographical description, p. 285.)

[48] He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (*see* the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99–101).

[49] Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dzhi-lĕr, Aw-ndo-zo and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG

Prior to the time of the San Tai 三代, the three ancient dynasties, Hsia 夏, 173 Shang 商 and Chou 周 (2205–256 B.C.), no references can be found about Li-chiang. The Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡, to which Li-chiang belonged, was established in the reign of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 (140–87 B.C.).

The Chün of Yüeh-sui was also called Chiung-tso K'un-ming 邛莋昆明, and Li-chiang was in Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣. During the Chin 晉, T'ang and Sung dynasties (265–1278), its name was repeatedly changed, but its territory remained occupied by the native chiefs. Although in the Yüan and Ming dynasties (1260–1643) States and magistracies had been established there, and prefects and civil officials sent to rule the territory, the real power remained in the hands of the native chiefs; the Imperial rule was nominal only.

The Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 10b, state that in ancient times Li-chiang was the land of Huang-fu 荒服 whose frontier adjoined the territory of the T'u-fan 吐蕃.[1] In history it is spoken of as the land of Sui K'un-ming 嶲昆明.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), it belonged to both the States of Yüeh-sui and I chou.

In the Later Han dynasty (25–220), it belonged to the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. In the Shu Han (221–264) (established in Ssu-ch'uan), it belonged to the State of Chien-ning 建寧.

In the Chin 晉 dynasty (265–316), it belonged to Hsi-ning chou 西寧州. In the Sui dynasty (581–617), it belonged to Sui chou. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618), its name was changed from Ting-tso 定莋 to K'un-ming, subject to Sui chou. Later it became the land of the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi), (also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國).

During the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804), Li-chiang was occupied by the Meng family (rulers of the Nan-chao Kingdom), and the office of Li-shui Chieh-tu-shih 麗水節度使 (Imperial Commissioner of Li-shui district) was established.

In the Sung dynasty (960–1126), it was occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 醋醋, leader of the Mo-so-man whom the Tuan family could not control. (The Tuan family ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), when the Imperial troops crossed the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of Golden Sand, or Yangtze) to attack Ta-li, the Mo-so

---

[1] In the second volume of The Tribute of Yü, *Yü-kung hsia* 禹貢下, ch. IV, pass. 22, we read: "Wu-pai li Huang-fu, san-pai li man, erh-pai li liu, 五百里荒服, 三百里蠻, 二百里流." This, J. LEGGE in his *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 147, translates "Five hundred li *the most remote*, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred li were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment." The 500-li Huang-fu are the last of the domains. It was called Huang-fu with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 li in every direction beyond the fourth domain.

● 173 tribes, trusting in their defenses, refused to submit. In the fourth year (1254), however, they were conquered, and the office of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil governor of Ch'a-han-chang) was established for them. In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1271) the office was changed to that of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner). In the 13th year (1276) the name of the district was changed to Li-chiang Lu and a Chün-min tsung-kuan-fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil governor's Yamen) was established. In the 22nd year (1285) the fu-magistracy was abolished and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 was substituted for it, between the cities of T'ung-an 通安 and Chü-chin 巨津. It controlled one fu-city, seven-chou cities, and one-hsien city.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the office was changed to Li-chiang fu (prefecture of Li-chiang), and later was again changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang). The control of the various chou-cities was divided: four of them, Shun chou 順州, Pei-sheng 北勝, Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü came under the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing; while T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin 巨津, and the hsien-city of Lin-hsi became subject to Li-chiang.

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) the fu-magistracy was retained, but the four chou-cities were abolished and became merged in the magistracy of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), Li-chiang was brought under direct control of the Yün-nan Pu-cheng-ssu 雲南布政司 (Yün-nan Provincial treasurer).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 1, fols. 26b–27b, while giving much the same historical data as found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and other geographical works by Chinese authors, yet contains certain statements which are of more than passing interest, and these I append here.

The Tien Commentary (*Tien-hsi*) states that Li-chiang was the southern border of the State of Liang (Liang chou 梁州), one of the nine chou or great divisions of the Empire instituted by Yü Kung 禹貢 (2205 B.C.), which comprised Ssu-ch'uan, parts of Shensi, Kan-su and Hu-pei.

During the Later Han dynasty (25–220), Li-chiang belonged to the State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and its ancient name was Pai-lang ti 白狼地 (Land of Pai-lang, or of the White Wolf). In the 17th year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 74), the King of Pai-lang[2] composed a poem of three verses in which he extolled the merits and virtues of the Han dynasty.

---

[2] During the period Yung-p'ing 永平 (58–75), Chu Fu 朱輔, Governor of I chou, proclaimed the virtues of the Han, whereupon Pai-lang Wang 白狼王 (King of the Pai-lang), whose tribe, like the P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄 and T'ang-tsou 唐菆, dwelled west of Wen Shan 汶山, came with over 100 others to pay tribute. They were considered barbarians from outside the borders of the Mao-niu-i 旄牛夷 (Yak barbarians). The latter dwelled north-west of Li-chou so 黎州所 (Sub-military station of Li chou), which was in the magistracy of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The P'an-mu Kuo 盤木國 (Kingdom of the P'an-mu tribe) was west of Mou chou 茂州. The Pai-lang Kingdom comprised apparently the region of the present Mu-li 木裏 Lama State, as well as the Wu-so 瓦所 territory (*see* p. 453). In ancient days Yung-ning, north-east of Li-chiang, which was under the Mo-so chiefs of Li-

193

The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang."

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[3]

---

chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-zo* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-zo* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O.*, *T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81.

101

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (909–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. TCHANG, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. LEGGE. A. TSCHEPE, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENEALOGICAL CHRONICLES OF THE MU FAMILY 木氏

173 *Chang Chih-shun's Introduction to the First Chronicle.* — The history of Li-chiang is intimately connected with that of its ruling chiefs and therefore a genealogical chronicle of the latter, full of historical information, much of which is not found in print, is here given in translation from a Chinese manuscript dating from the year 1516, and still in the possession of the descendants of the old Na-khi Kings or Chiefs, the Mu family of Li-chiang. The introduction to the work, written by Chang Chih-shun 張志淳,[1] a native of Yung-ch'ang and scholar of the degree of Doctor, consists mainly of eulogies of the Mu family and especially of Mu Kung 木公, who was the eldest son of Mu Ting 木定, native prefect of Li-chiang.

Mu Kung was the 14th generation counting from Yeh-yeh. He was born in 1494, took office in 1527, and died in 1553; he started the family chronicle, to which Chang Chih-shun wrote a preface, on December 27th, 1516. That is the first and complete genealogical chronicle, but it is not illustrated; we shall presently speak of another.

Chang Chih-shun's literary name was Chin-chih 進之. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih*, ch. 42, fol. 3a, tells us that he was a native of the sub-district of Chin-ch'ih (Chin-ch'ih ssu 金齒司).[2] He graduated as *chin shih* in the year 1484. Because he wrote two books, called *Nan-yüan-chi* 南園集 and *Nan-yüan man-lu* 南園漫錄, he is known as Chang Nan-yüan. He died at the age of 81.

In his introduction to the official chronicle of the Mu family, he states that Mu Kung had a good friend by the name of Kao 高, a native of Ho-ch'ing, who was the younger brother of an official who hailed from an old and honorable official family.[3] They helped each other in securing all the ancient records about the customs of their native place, and encouraged each other in literary pursuits and in the building up of moral character.

The official record was completed up to the rule of Mu Ting 木定, father of the author who, with his friend Kao, had compiled it by the year 1516, for

---

[1] Chang Chih-shun was magistrate of Yung-ch'ang, of which he was a native. His given name was Nan-yüan 南園; his official designation was Hu-pu Shih-lang 戶部侍郎 (Vice-president of the Board of Revenue). He wrote four books: *Man-lu* 漫錄; *Hsü-lu* 續錄; *Yung-ch'ang Erh-fang chi* 永昌二芳記; and *Ming-shih fu-chiao fang-chuan* 明史附焦芳傳.

[2] As regards Chin-ch'ih (District of Golden teeth) the *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* states that it was not Yung-ch'ang. Chin-ch'ih was 2,000 li outside the borders of Yung-ch'ang. It was the Yin-sheng tien 銀生甸 of the ancient Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 (this is the present-day Wu-liang Shan 無量山, 90 li north of Ching-tung 景東 and 10 stages south of Ta-li). The *Kang-mu* 綱目 states that it adjoined Pa-pai hsi-fu 八百媳婦 (the present-day Chieng-mai in northern Siam). In the Yüan dynasty there was established Chin-ch'ih 金齒, and Pai-i 百夷; all these circuits and Yung-ch'ang were then subject to the Ta-li circuit.

[3] Members of the Kao family, originally natives of Ho-ch'ing, settled in Li-chiang, or rather T'ung-an chou, during the reign of Mu Shen 木森 (1434–41). They became hereditary native sub-magistrates of T'ung-an 通安.

[p.66]

the Yung-ch'ang magistrate says in his preface that he had read it, and that 173
it was compiled by Mu Kung personally.

The magistrate states that "He learned that the first ancestor of Mu Kung was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. That from the latter to the period of Shang-yüan 上元 of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗 (674), there were six generations to his descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became Governor of San-tien (Li-chiang), or the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管.

"From Ch'iu-yang to his descendant Meng-wang 蒙汪, who bore the official title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit), there were four generations; from Meng-wang to Mu Kung there were 24 generations.

"Throughout these generations, many dynasties such as the T'ang, Wu-tai 五代, Sung, and Yüan, had succeeded each other, but the changes could neither influence nor impede the growth of the Mu family in which some were dukes, some marquises, others generals and commanders-in-chief."

The magistrate continues: "In the Ming dynasty, in the year when the Imperial court sent its Pacification Commissioners to the frontier lands of Yün-nan, this family exhibited such hospitality and loyalty to them that His Majesty the Emperor (in 1382) conferred on them the surname Mu, renewed their official letters patent and ordered them to rule their people with hereditary official authority. Mu Kung's grandfather, by name Mu T'ai 木泰, laid special stress on moral character, and for that reason had no concubines, and thus set a good example to the later generations. He encouraged his people to study, and abolished official corruption."

He defines the genealogical chronicle as, "A historical work, a complete narrative of their military achievements, official appointments, ranks, traditions, etc."

He then tells us of the Imperial policy in regard to outlying regions. "Owing to bad communications and natural barriers, this land (Li-chiang) is separated far from Imperial rule. Thus it is advisable to make the native leader of this people their ruler. He is given an official seal by the Emperor and also the hereditary right to control the land and its people. His political principles would have to suit the customs of his people. Such privileges are not accorded simply as a reward for merit acquired, but form part of a special policy of the government applied to suit the circumstances of the people. This means that their manners and customs are so different from ours, that the Emperor is obliged to allow the native rulers to maintain their hereditary right."

He concludes his introductory remarks by saying: "Descendants can never be dependent on their hereditary rights only, in order to keep their official positions and rule their States and people. There must be something more important than this. I therefore hope that Mu Kung, besides his honorable attempt to write this official record for the enlightenment of his family, will try to perform other and more significant works, and improve the people's lot, so that the descendants of his family will thereby be enabled to multiply and prosper for ever."

The abbreviated and illustrated or Second Chronicle.—In the *T'oung-pao*, 1912: XIII, p. 555, under the title *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang*, Ed. Chavannes published a translation of a genealogical

173

chronicle of the Mo-so (Na-khi) chiefs whose capital was at Li-chiang in western Yün-nan. This chronicle, which is written in Chinese and illustrated with the portraits of these chiefs, is in the possession of their descendants, who still bear the family name, Mu. M. Jaques Bacot, during his two journeys to Li-chiang in 1907 and 1909, saw this illustrated chronicle and had it copied. He also employed a Na-khi artist, a relative of the Mu family, to copy the portraits accompanying the text. These copies of the portraits he published in his work *Les Mo-So* (Leide, 1913) and not photographs of the actual paintings which accompany the manuscript. Bacot published 26 portraits, while the genealogy when I saw it in 1931 contained 30 portraits, representing 29 Na-khi chiefs. The 28th generation was figured twice, representing Mu Han 木漢 in his youth and then again later in life, his face showing pock-marks.

No text accompanies the four last portraits.

This chronicle commences with Yeh-yeh 爺爺, as the first generation, who arrived at the Li-chiang snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). At the end of the chronicle of the first generation, or Yeh-yeh's, there is a sentence which states that besides this record there exists another, carefully prepared and complete. Bacot, apparently unable to read Chinese, was unaware of the existence of this second and more complete chronicle of the Na-khi chiefs.

The same sentence is repeated at the end of the biography of the second generation, or Nien-pao A-tsung's 年保阿琮. The introduction to the illustrated chronicle was written by Yang Shen 楊慎, who is better known by his surname Sheng-an 升庵. He was banished to Yün-nan in the year 1524. He died of dissipation in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (August 3rd–September 1st, 1559). The introduction, dated November 9th, 1545, was not translated by Chavannes, but discussed in his paper. Bacot, in his work *Les Mo-so*, reprinted Chavannes' discussion.

The complete or First Chronicle. — During my sojourn in Li-chiang in the year 1931–1932, I repeatedly visited the Mu family at their official residence and was gladly shown the second chronicle of their illustrious ancestors, the same chronicle which had been shown to Bacot. I photographed both the text and the portraits (which are here reproduced), and further had the same artist who made copies for Bacot to paint copies of the portraits in the original size for me. This copy of the illustrated chronicle, carefully bound and certified by the present Tu-t'ung-p'an, is now in the Library of Congress in Washington. On closely examining the text I found, as previously mentioned, the sentences regarding the existence of a more complete and detailed genealogical chronicle of the Na-khi Kings. When questioned about it, the late Mu Shu 木樞, fourth son of the late Na-khi chief, Mu Yin 木蔭 (style, Ch'un-t'ing 椿亭), who administered the affairs of the family and its estate, very willingly brought for my inspection from the ancestral shrine, this earlier chronicle which antedates the illustrated one by 29 years. He also kindly allowed me to have it copied.

The introduction to this chronicle by Chang Chih-shun has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Chang also wrote the introduction to the illustrated genealogical chronicle (Bacot's) and sent it on to Yang Shen, who added a preface. In the illustrated chronicle his *hao* is wrongly given as

173

Nan-kuo, an error copied by Chavannes; it is Nan-yüan, as explained on page 66.

Chang's introduction is dated the 11th year of Cheng-te 正德, the 5th of the twelfth moon (December 27, 1516).

Chavannes in his introduction states that Yang Shen ascribes the origin of the Mu family to a much earlier date than does the chronicle copied by Bacot. He further says that Yang believed that the Mu family could trace their ancestors to a certain Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te 武德 (618–626) of the T'ang dynasty, after which he enumerates 20 generations to Mu Te 木得, who was the first chief of Li-chiang to bear the family name Mu.

Chavannes was surprised to find in Yang Shen's introduction the mention of these 20 generations before Mu Te, and he further says, "Why do these 16 generations not figure in the chronicle?" In the one seen by Bacot, Mu Te figures as the seventh generation, while the third generation corresponds to the 18th in Yang Shen's list in the introduction.

This mystery of the 20 generations preceding Mu Te is now cleared up by the appearance of the more complete non-illustrated chronicle, which from now on I shall designate as the First Chronicle, and the abridged illustrated one as the Second Chronicle.

The Na-khi manuscripts. — In the First Chronicle appear not only the 20 generations mentioned in Yang Shen's introduction, but also 15 earlier generations which are more or less legendary. These legendary ancestors and their wives are fully described in several Na-khi manuscripts written in their pictographic script. The names of the male ancestors appear in a manuscript called *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which is recited during the ceremony called *Muan̲-bpö* (Worshipping of Heaven), performed in a place especially set aside for that purpose and called by them *Muan̲-bpö d'a*. They also appear in another manuscript called *Wua-bpa-ts'u*, chanted at the Wua-bpa-ts'u ceremony. The names of the female ancestors are given in a manuscript called *K'wuo-shou* of the Ssu-dsu (marriage ceremony).

The names of the early ancestors enumerated in Chinese in the chronicle must have been copied from these Na-khi manuscripts. I have numerous manuscripts of *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw* and *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u*[4] and also others in which these ancestors and their wives are enumerated, but the names of the females are not always the same, and in each of the manuscripts they have a different ancestor as their spouse. Some ancestors had apparently more than one wife, as the names of other females appear as their wives, though not more than one name at a time. It is possible that each wife possessed more than one name. The wife of Ō Gkaw-lä, for instance, is always given as Ō-yu-dtu-nun̲-mi, instead of Gyi-ssu-mun̲-lu as appears in the chronicle.

The present descendants of the Mu family of Li-chiang could not explain

---

[4] The former relates to the period preceding the flood, and is the story of creation in which the egg, as in the ancient Bön stories, plays a great part; the latter is the story of the flood and the regeneration of the Na-khi race through their ancestor, Ts'o-dze-llü-ghügh, and his wife, Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi. [See my article: "The Story of the Flood in the Literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi) tribe" in *Journal West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VII (1935), 64–80.]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 173 the meaning of the Chinese characters, especially of the introductory part of the legendary ancestors, the Chinese text being unintelligible. Not until I began translating with my Na-khi sorcerers the *K'wuo-shou* manuscript, and that called *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw* of the *Muan̲-bpö* ceremony, did I realize that the particular Chinese text of the chronicle followed the Na-khi words and represented part of the story related in these books (manuscripts). In some instances the phonetic value of the Chinese characters render Na-khi words only, and their ideographic value had to be discarded, while in others the meaning of the character had to be read in Na-khi and the phonetic value rejected. The reason for this mixture of phonetic and translation rendering is the phonetic paucity of Chinese. Where the sound complex of a word could not be rendered it was translated. The story the Chinese text thus told was the same as in the *Muan̲-bpö* book, *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*.

Stone-tablet in the Mu family cemetery at Si-li-wùa.—At a place called Si-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦), south-east of Li-chiang about 10 li distant, there is a large *pei*, or stone-tablet, at the end of a row of graves pointing east. This is one of the burial grounds of the Mu family. The larger one is at Tung-kuan 東關, 30 li from Li-chiang. There, certain chiefs are buried, beginning with the 24th generation, Mu Chung 木鍾, who died on September 6th, 1725. All the predecessors of Mu Chung were cremated and their graves do not exist, although the bones and ashes were supposed to have been interred near the village of Boa-shi. On the stone-tablet, about six feet by three, which stands at Si-li-wùa among the graves of the minor members of the Mu family, there is engraved an abridged copy of the First Chronicle. It begins with the legendary ancestors and their origin and states: "Since nothing is known of Yeh-ku-nien, we respectfully call Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 our first ancestor."

Thus Ch'iu-yang appears also in the First Chronicle as the first ancestor after Yeh-ku-nien. In the center of the stone-tablet there is engraved in large characters: "Yang-po-na 陽伯那[5] at the foot of the exalted[6] Yü-lung Shan. The first ancestor of the Mu family [was] Ch'iu-yang; his true wife [was] Mi-chün Hsi-shu 彌均習淑. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, K'un-ming (which was then Li-chiang) became merged with Sui chou and during the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗, Shang-yüan 上元, (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-chün-kuan 三甸總軍管 (Military Governor of San-tien district)." This same legend appears under Ch'iu-yang in the Chronicle, but with the omission of the word 軍, military.

---

[5] DEVERIA in his work, *La frontière sino-annamite*, states in a footnote on p. 101 that "the word *pa-na* according to a Chinese and Pa-yi vocabulary, signified *residence* or *li* 里." This would coincide with the title of the Chronicle, the words *po* 伯, *pa* 八, or *pan* 板 being simply the Chinese transcription of native words. The words *pai* 擺, *pa* 八, *po* 佰, *pai* 白, *po* 伯, *pai* 百 are interchangeable phonetically and are used in transcribing the names of tribes and places in Chinese. It is possible that the word Po-na being of Shan or Min-chia 民家 origin was in usage among the Na-khi in the past. Yang 陽 stands for the name of the first ancestor; the foot of the Li-chiang snow range (Yü-lung Shan) was his residence. In fact, an ancient residence existed at the foot of the snow range a short distance north of the last village on the Li-chiang plain, called Nv-lv-k'ö. The place is now known as Kwuà-d'a (Kwuà-d'a gko-lo) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 219).

[6] On the stele it is written 崇 (exalted, great). In the First Chronicle the character *ling* 靈 (spiritual, divine) is used instead.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sodthwest China AF16

While the First Chronicle counts Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿宗 as the second generation, the inscription on the stone tablet counts Yang-yin-tu-ku 陽音都谷.[7]

On the stone-tablet the name of the first ancestor, Ch'iu-yang, is placed in the center, the names of the even numbered generations to the left of it and the uneven to the right.

The tablet is dated Tao-kuang 道光, 22nd year, the first moon, 17th day (February 26th, 1842).

The first generation of the Second Chronicle, namely Yeh-yeh, is omitted entirely both in the First Chronicle and on the stone-tablet. The probable reason was that Yeh-yeh was an outsider, a stranger from Mongolia, who was said to have floated down the Chin River on a log. When he arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 (in Na-khi, Bä-lä-ts'o)[8] a chief by the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羡陶阿古 of the village of Pai-sha 白沙 (Boa-shi in Na-khi),[9] saw that his features were not those of an ordinary man and so he gave him his daughter in marriage. There were five village chiefs who put Yeh-yeh at their head. At that time, a certain Nien-lo Nien-pao 年樂年保 (it should read Mou 牟 instead of Nien 年), who had given himself the title of General-in-Chief, adopted the son of Yeh-yeh as his successor.

In the First Chronicle it is stated that Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保 and Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和[10] of the Later Ta-li 後大理 Kingdom were called Generals-in-Chief.

The First Chronicle is silent as regards Yeh-yeh, while the Second Chronicle speaks of Yeh-yeh's son having been adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao; the son took the name of his adopted father and thus appears in the First Chronicle as the second generation under the name Mou-pao A-tsung, and Nien-pao A-tsung in the Second Chronicle.

Oral traditions of Li-chiang. — It is strange indeed that the First Chronicle ignores Yeh-yeh entirely and names Ch'iu-yang the first generation and Mou-pao A-tsung the second generation, although there are 14 generations between them. As regards Yeh-yeh there are several traditions current in Li-chiang, and these are probably nearer the truth than the more or less legendary figure of the Second Chronicle.

---

[7] In the First Chronicle Yang-yin-tu-ku follows Ch'iu-yang, but Mu-pao A-tsung is nevertheless marked as second generation, although 14 other generations are intermediate.

[8] This is the Bä-lä-tsĕr or Bä-la-ts'o of the Na-khi; the village is situated in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). Chavannes translates this "the Northern Lan-ts'ang or Mekong," the Chinese characters, Pei-lang-ts'ang, being simply a phonetic rendering of the Na-khi name of the village Bä-lä-ts'o, in ancient days called Bä-lä-tsĕr. Bacot in his book, *Le Tibet révolté*, p. 306, makes the same mistake, for he says: "Le Fleuve Bleu n'a peut-être pas toujours eu son cours actuel. L'histoire fabuleuse du premier roi Moso de Likiang laisserait supposer qu'il communiquait autrefois avec le Mekong."

[9] Chavannes uses Pai-sha as part of the name of the chief. It is a village situated half-way between the Li-chiang snow range and Li-chiang proper. The Chinese Pai-sha is a phonetic rendering of Boa-shi (Dead Hsi-fan) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 222).

[10] Under Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和, Ho Yü 和譽 must be understood here, who was the son of Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳. Ho was the second king of the Later Ta-li dynasty which ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1108, and ruled 39 years.

1173 The following stories about Yeh-yeh's origin are told in Li-chiang: —

When Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan)[11] marched with his troops through Yün-nan down the Yangtze to attack the Burmese, he encountered heavy snow in northwest Yün-nan and was thus delayed for three months. He stayed with the headman of a village who had a very beautiful daughter who always remained at home. He wanted her to become his wife and told her that when he had fought and conquered the Burmese he would come back and claim her. A long time elapsed, and the girl was still waiting for her lover to return. In the meantime she had given birth to a son. As her lover did not return to claim her, she tied her child to a piece of wood and sent it floating down the river (Yangtze), while she drowned herself.

Later Hu-pi-lieh returned and enquired about his love. He was then informed that she had drowned herself and that her son had been picked up at a place called Bä-lä-tsĕr (now Bä-lä-ts'o). The village of Bä-lä-ts'o is in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The meaning of the name is: *Bä* from *Bä-tsi-zi* = man, *lä* = come, *tsĕr* = to take something out of the water. As it was there that the child was fished out of the water, the fact was commemorated by giving the particular village nearby the above name; Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name.

Thereupon, it is said, Hu-pi-lieh conferred on the child a hereditary title and made him Prince of the Na-khi. He thus became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings. This would also explain his Mongol origin. In the Second Chronicle nothing is said of Yeh-yeh's mother, only that his son was adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao, and that he himself came from Mongolia floating down on a juniper log, and that when he reached a certain place he was picked up, the place being afterwards known as Bä-lä-ts'o.

---

[11] MARCO POLO, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Yule, Vol. 2, ch. 52, p. 101, describes the battles fought by the Great Khan against the King of Mien 緬. He mentions the Mohammedan general and calls him Nescradin. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the capital of Karajang. His name was Nazir-ed-din; his father was the first to introduce coffins into Yün-nan, and also go-betweens at betrothals. He caused reservoirs to be built against drought. He built the first Wen Miao 文廟 (Confucian Temple) in Yün-nan. His name was Sai-tien-ch'ih-shan-ssu-ting 賽典赤贍思丁 (Sai-yin-o-te-ch'i 賽音額德齊, in *Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*), he was a native of Bokhara and died at the age of 69, in the 16th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1279) after having been in Yün-nan six years, where he was governor. His son, Nazir-ed-din, died in the 29th year of Chih-yüan (1292) in Yün-nan, leaving 12 sons (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 125, fol. 1a–4a).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in his book, *The Beginnings of Writing*, p. 182, § 268, states: "Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277."

Regarding the wars fought by Kublai Khan with the Burmese, the Mongol History (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 210, fol. 1a) has the following to say: "Mien Kuo 緬國 is the land of the Hsi-nan-i (barbarians of the South-west). In the eighth year of Chih-yüan (1271) the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai fu 宣慰司都元帥府 the Yamen of the Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capitals of Ta-li, Shan-shan (the present K'un-ming; Shan-shan was established during the T'ang dynasty) and other circuits sent Ch'i-t'a-t'e-t'o-yin 奇塔特托音 and other envoys to Mien 緬 (Burma) to proclaim an edict to their king that he should become tributary to the Empire."

In the 14th year (1277) in the tenth moon (November), Yün-nan fu sent the local Provincial Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capital, Ni-ya-ssu-la-ting 尼雅斯拉鼎 (Nazir-ed-din) to lead an army composed of Mongols, Ts'uan (Lo-lo), P'o (Shan) and Mo-so (Na-khi) — over 3,440 men — to attack Mien.

173

Another story relates how a Na-khi girl, by the name of Nda-lä-wua-ssaw-mi, had an illegitimate child which she tied to a piece of wood and threw into the Yangtze. The boy was fished out of the river at Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi and became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings.

Bacot in his work, p. 118, relates another legend taken from a Na-khi manuscript. The village he mentions is not Bache, but Boa-shi, as previously explained. To complete the biography I add herewith that part of the Second Chronicle which deals with Yeh-yeh.

Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor according to the Second Chronicle. — The founder and first ancestor of the Mu family listed in the Second Chronicle was called Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (Plate 9). "He arrived at the snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). He was originally a Mongol from the Western Region. At first he arranged a niche in a rock cliff in the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙山 and there delighted in the rules of the East and in the Buddhist religion, and the entire day remained seated in deep meditation. Suddenly there arose a Chiao-lung 蛟龍 [dragon — a roaring torrent of water and mud is supposed to be caused by a Chiao-lung] [12] accompanied by thunder and rain; at that moment he mounted a large fragrant tree (washed down with the rocks and debris) and floated away into the Chin Chiang 金江 (Yangtze). He arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang. When the barbarians saw him from a distance they marvelled, and called all their people together from afar to meet him. He then mounted the river bank. At that time there was a certain Hsien-t'ao A-ku from Pai-sha [13] who was the head or chief of the barbarians. He saw signs of nobility on the face and in the bearing of Yeh-yeh; he also noticed his calmness and imperturbability [retiring attitude] and marvelled greatly in his heart. Thereupon he gave him his daughter in marriage. The common people rose to invite the stranger to select a place in their midst for worship. But it was their intention that he should dwell apart. At that time there were five village chiefs, one called Kan-lo-mu-tu 千羅睦督, (*see*: p. 96), a second Tien-ch'i-hsüan 甸起選, a third A-niang-hui 阿娘揮 [this is a Chinese rendering of the Na-khi-name, A-nyu-khü], a fourth La-wan 剌宛, and a fifth Wa-chün 瓦均.[14] A [-ku] intended to make Yeh-yeh their chief. At that time Nien-lo

---

[12] The Dragon in China and Japan by Dr. M. W. De Visser in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam* N. R. Deel XIII, no. 2.

The Kiao lung 蛟龍 pp. 76–79. De Visser states on page 79 that "The *Kiao* belongs to the same kind as the *lung*. Its shape resembles that of a snake and yet it has four legs and a thin neck. Around its neck it has a white necklace. The big *kiao* are several spans thick. They are born from eggs. Their eyebrows are united (交) reason why they are called *kiao* 蛟." In the *Shan Hai Ching*, sect. Nan shan Ching 南山經, ch. 1, p. 11a, it says that they live in special mountain rivulets.

[13] Pai-sha 白沙 is the name of a li 里 (commune), also of a village 20 li north of Li-chiang which used to be the seat of the Na-khi Kings before they moved to Li-chiang. In Na-khi it is called Boa-shi (Dead Boa or Hsi-fan). BACOT calls it Bache; it is thus not part of the name of the man Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古, but the village whence he hailed from.

[14] CHAVANNES here uses the word *yün* 云 as part of the name of the second and third chiefs, and adds the word 阿 on to the name of the fifth, viz: 云甸起選 Yun-tien-k'i-siuan, 云阿娘揮 Yun-a-niang-houei, 剌宛 La-wan, 瓦均阿 Wa-kiun-a, the original text reads: 一云千羅睦督, 二云甸起選, 三云阿娘揮, 四云剌宛, 五云瓦均, 阿乃願崇爺爺爲五家之長. The character 阿 refers to A-ku (Hsien-t'ao A-ku).

173 Nien-pao 年樂年保 called himself by the title General-in-Chief. To Yeh-yeh was born a son who was given the name A-tsung 阿琮.[15] When he was born he was superior to other people. Nien-lo Nien-pao saw that he was not like others. He protected him and made him his successor and hereditary General-in-Chief. He thought that when the root was deep the tree would be strong, and that a deep spring will flow to a great distance [will be inexhaustible]. Those who wish to examine and trace the affairs of the founder and of each of the ancient and present-day generations of the clan, can find them in this [chronicle]. His true wife was A-shih 阿氏 [in Na-khi, O-shi]."

The last sentence reads: "In the text information is provided in part. A detailed account of the remainder is in another Genealogy." (The first one is here meant.)

The three memorial stones at the Mu ancestral seat at Li-chiang. — In addition to the two chronicles cited, there is extant a separate biography of Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was the father of the most famous of all the Na-khi Kings (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was born in 1569 and died in 1507, at 28 years of age. This biography was written at the request of his son Mu Tseng, better known as Mu Sheng-pai, by a Han-lin scholar, Chang Pang-chi 張邦紀 by name, in the period Wan-li, and engraved on a large stone-tablet; the latter was erected by his son Mu Tseng in the 40th year of Wan-li (1612). This memorial stone is set into the garden wall of the official residence of the Mu family in Li-chiang. Mu Ch'ing's *hao* 號, both in the First Chronicle and in the one engraved on the stele, is Sung-ho 松鶴 and not Ho-sung as given in the Second Chronicle and so recorded by Chavannes.

This particular tablet simply extols the virtue, ability, and merit of Mu Ch'ing, but adds nothing of historical value. The writer of the Biography was a Han-lin scholar who lived 10,000 li from Li-chiang, and had been requested by messenger to write it for Mu Tseng.

The second tablet is a biography of Mu Kung 木公 whose surname was Wan-sung 萬松; he was born in 1494 and died in 1553. It was written by his son Mu Kao 木高, engraved on a stele, and erected first in the ancestral temple of the Mu family in the 33rd year of Ming Chia-ching (1554), but is now set in the garden wall of the family residence. Like the first tablet it is a eulogy only and adds nothing of historical value. Mu Kao calls himself here the 35th generation of the Mu family.

The third tablet is a biography of Mu Tung 木東 of the 16th generation, written by his son Mu Wang 木旺. It was erected in the Mu family ancestral hall of military merit by his son in the eighth year of Ming Wan-li in the first moon (1580).

Printed records: The "Huang-Ming En-lün-lu" at Pai-sha-kai. — Besides the two manuscript copies of the genealogical chronicles kept by the Mu

---

[15] Apparently the entire story of the arrival of Yeh-yeh is a myth. He probably never existed. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that Mai-tsung 麥琮, which is the equivalent to A-tsung, arrived in Li-chiang at the end of the Sung dynasty, that is, at the end of the reign of Emperor Li Tsung 理宗, about 1253. It also states that he was a native of Hsi Yü 西域 (Central Asia), and that the natives of Li-chiang elected him as their chief. Thus he could not have been the son of Yeh-yeh. In another place in the same record it is said that he was Yeh-yeh's son and when seven years old could read, etc.

173

family in their Li-chiang residence, the yamen of their ancestors, there has recently come to light a printed record of the letters patent of the Mu family.

There exists a branch of the Mu family of Li-chiang which does not reside in that city but in a village 20 li to the north of it, namely, in the lower part of the mart Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街); the village is known as Mbe-lü in Na-khi, and Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 in Chinese. The owner of this printed copy of the Mu family letters patent is a certain Mu Wen-lan 木文瀾, a descendant of Aw-dzhi-lĕr (A-chih-li 阿知立), who was a member of the same Mu family which furnished the native magistrates of Li-chiang. It was this Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged a complaint against the Mu chiefs of Li-chiang with the viceroy of Yün-nan, and thus caused the chiefs to be demoted to a much inferior position, and their land to be taken over. This naturally created a family feud, and although it happened 223 years ago the wound is not yet healed.

The Li-chiang Mu family, who must have been aware of the existence of this printed record, never breathed a word to me about it, until I came accidentally to know of it. The book is called *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* 皇明恩綸錄 (Records of the gracious words of the Imperial Ming). It was printed in the winter of the second year of Ming Lung-wu (1646). This Emperor was a fugitive and was killed in the eighth moon of 1646. The Records commence with the native T'u-kuan A-te 阿得 (Li-chiang native official A-te), who ruled from 1383 to November 11th, 1390, as fu-magistrate of Li-chiang, although prior to the advent of the Ming dynasty he was a Chih-chou 知州 (chou-magistrate) of T'ung-an 通安, east of Li-chiang. The book gives the official letters received during the reign of each incumbent, that is the gracious words sent to them by the ruling Emperors. It ends with the military and civil magistrate of Li-chiang, Mu I 木懿, who ruled from 1624 to 1673. The last entries relate to the two wives of Mu I. The final date on the last page is Ts'ung-cheng 崇禎, the 12th year, which corresponds to our 1639. The book is really a printed record of all the letters patent received by the Na-khi chiefs from the various Emperors, the first one being dated the 15th year of Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖, period Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) and the last 1639, covering a period of 257 years. The record is complementary to the two chronicles, as it gives verbatim the text of the various letters patent. There are certain differences between the printed Ming letters patent and those in the genealogical chronicle. Attention to these differences is called in their respective places.

The scrolls in the Mu reception hall at Li-chiang. — There is also extant a biography of the six most important Na-khi chiefs, Mu Kung, Mu Kao, Mu Tung, Mu Wang, Mu Ch'ing and Mu Tseng. It is written on red scrolls and is displayed on the walls of the reception hall in the Mu family residence. It is of a eulogistic nature only, and was written by Feng Shih-k'o 馮時可, though no date is given. The biography was inscribed on the scrolls by the descendant Mu K'un 木坤, as told by Mu Yin 木蔭, in the 27th year of Kuang-hsü (1901). All these I had copied and translated, but as they do not add much of historical value, only the First and most complete genealogical Chronicle is here translated.

CHAPTER V

The First Chronicle

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

● 173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚陽伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tsu huan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbĕr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It ~~is~~ chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

173 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*), or the Creation
173 of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the
173 form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony.
764 There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

[p. 76 A]

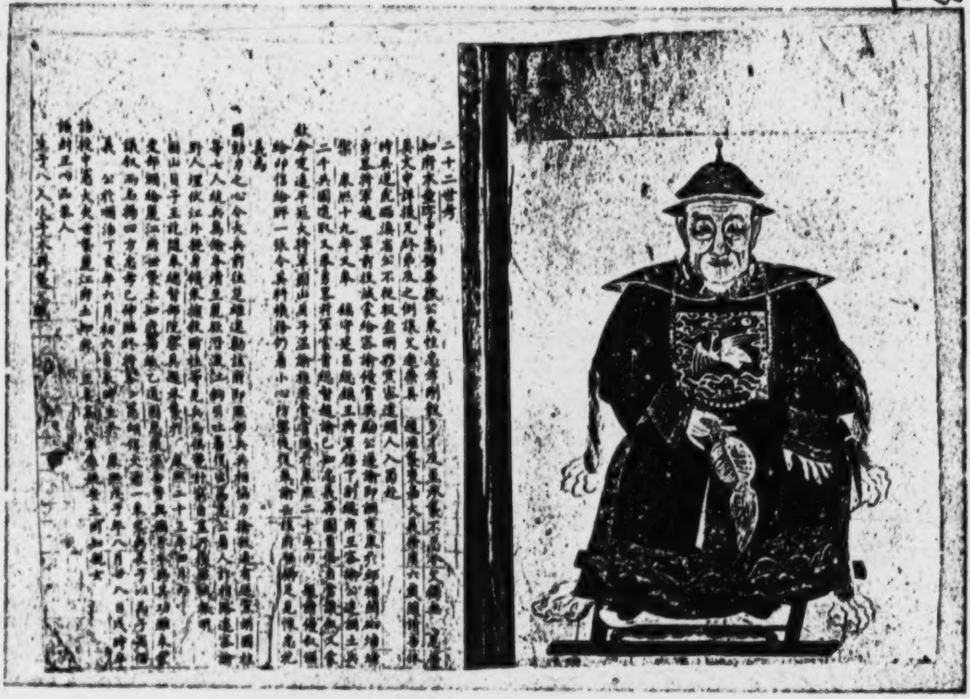


PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU YAO

木 堯 二 十 二 世 考

173
292

[p. 76 B]

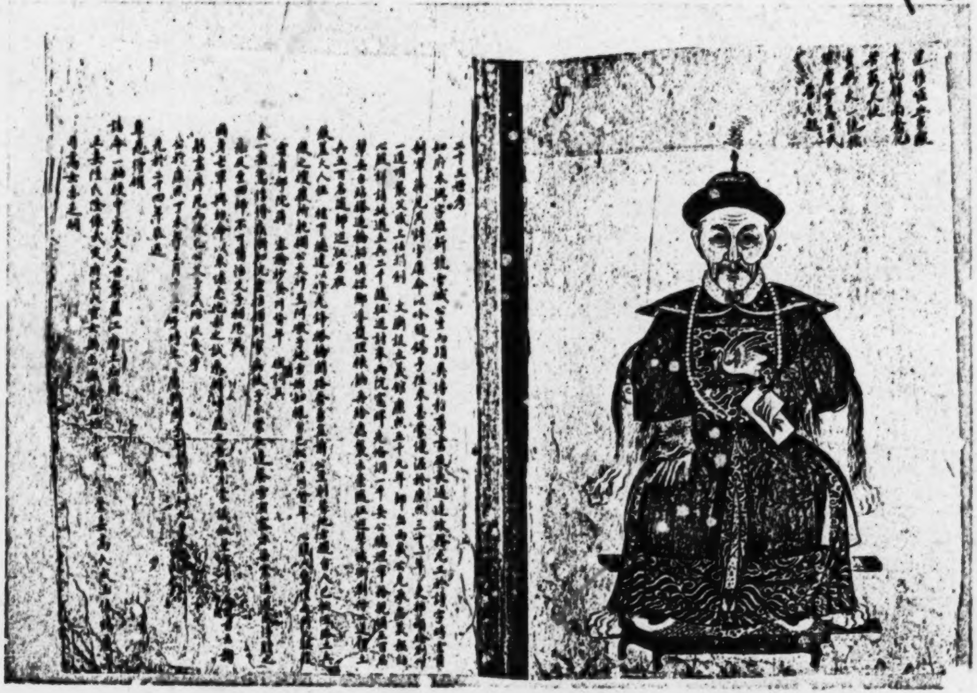


PLATE 34.—THE TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. MU HSING

木 興 二 十 三 世 像

173
292

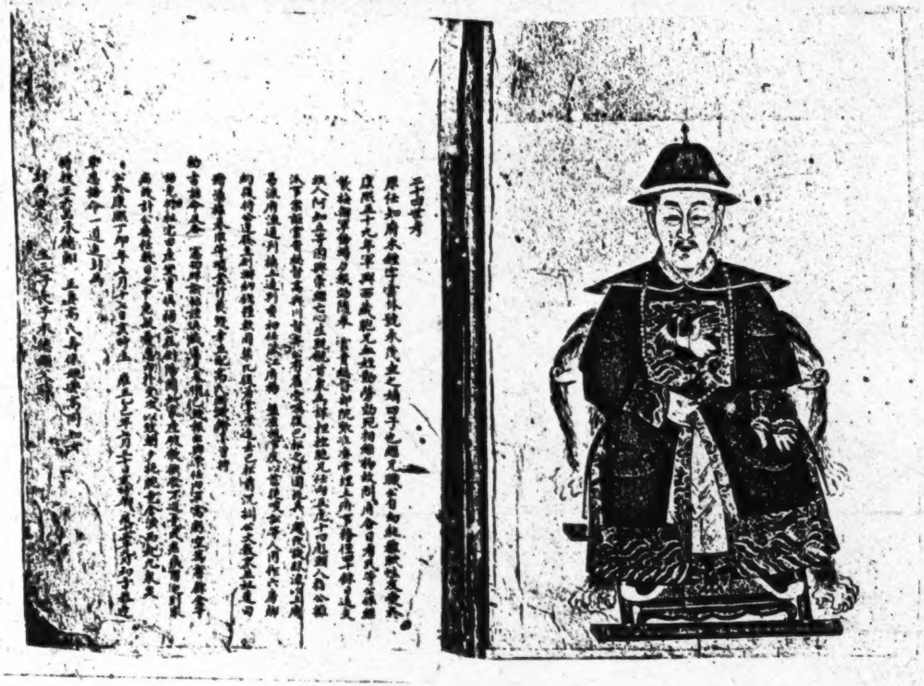


PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. MU CHUNG

木鍾二十四世考

[p. 76C]

173
242

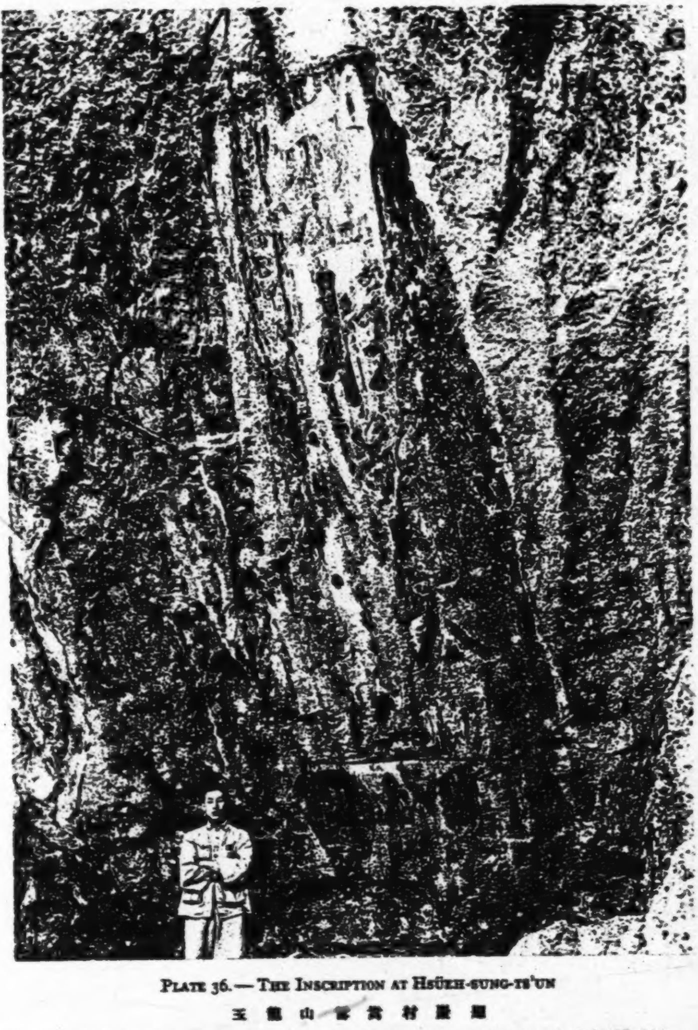


Plate 36.—The Inscription at Hsüeh-sung-ts'un

玉 龍 山 雪 嵩 村 摩 崖

The inscription commemorates the nationalization in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

[p. 76 D]

[p.76 E]

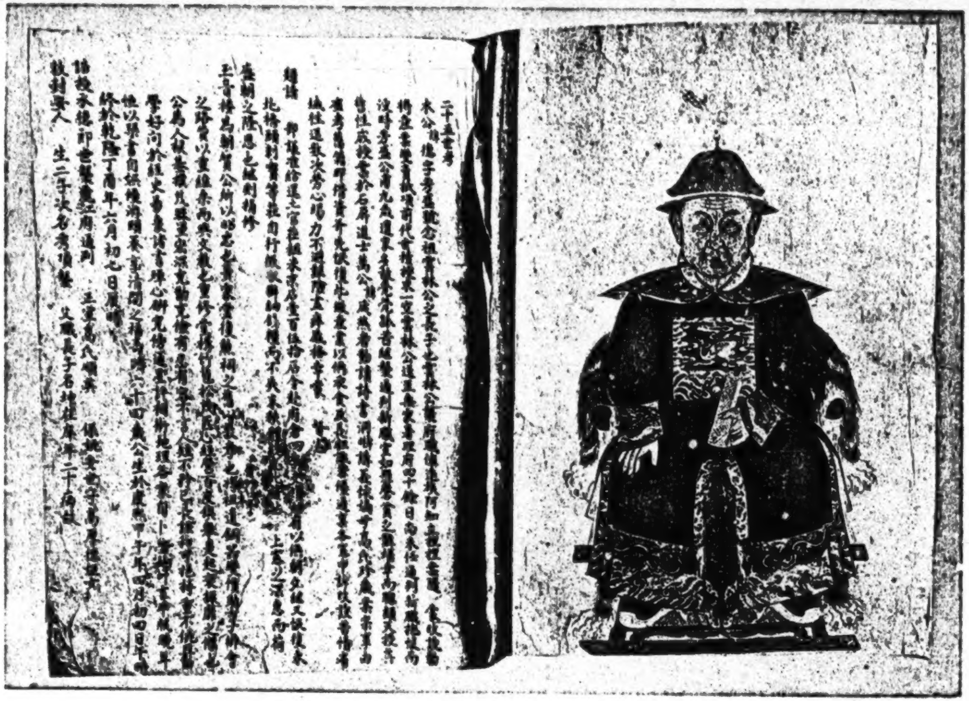


PLATE 37.—THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. MU TE

木德二十五世考

173
292

942
173

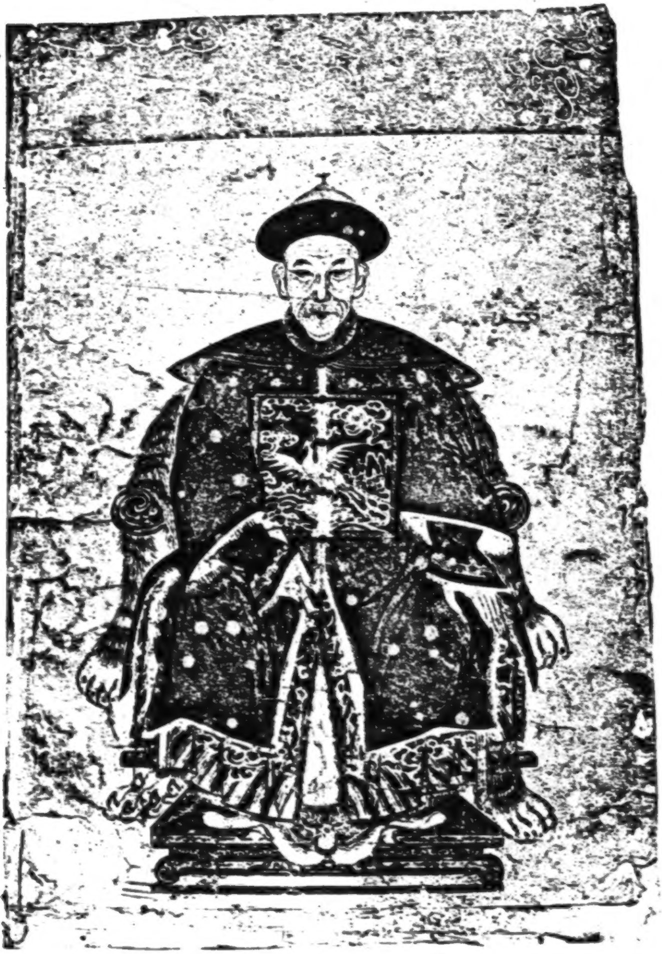


PLATE 38. — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

木秀二十六世考

[p. 76 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

292
173

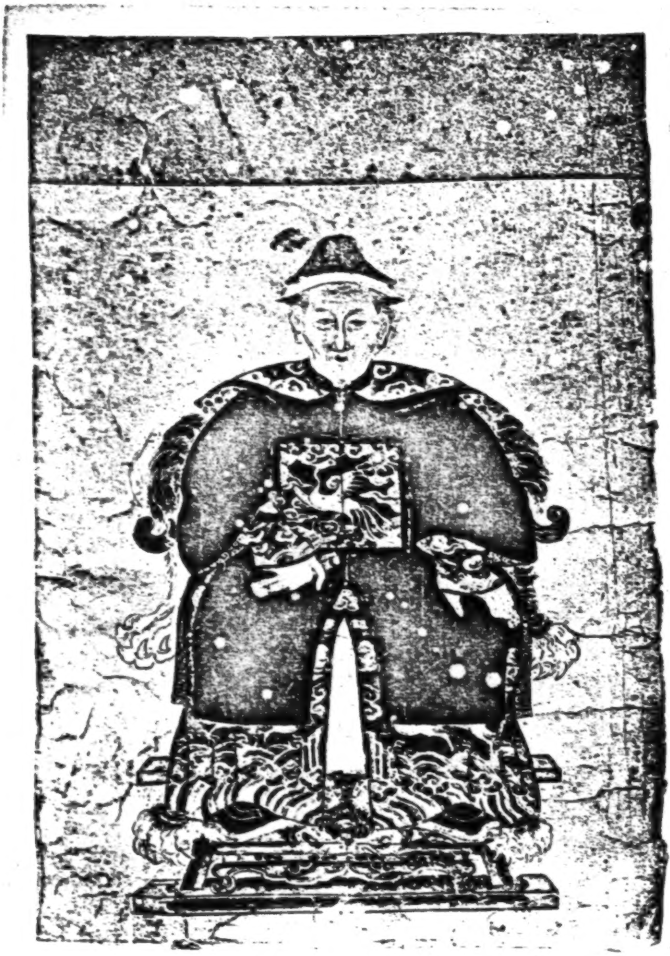


Plate 39.—The Twenty-seventh Generation. Mu Jui

木 睿 二 十 七 世 考

[p. 76 G]

292
173

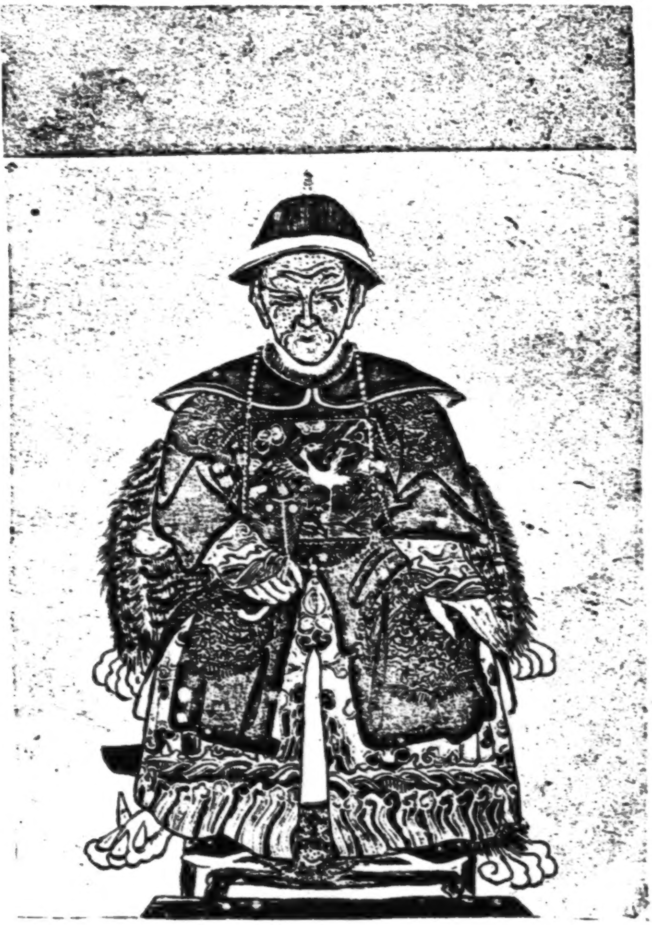


PLATE 40.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

木漢二十八世考

[p. 76 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

292
173

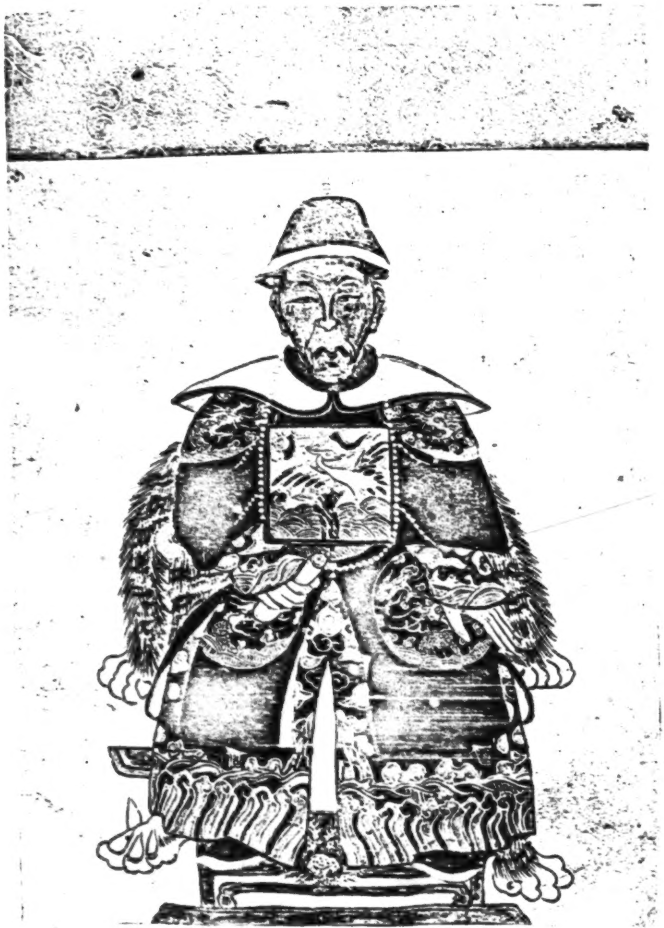


PLATE 41. — THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

木 青 二 十 九 世 考

[p. 76 I]

292
173

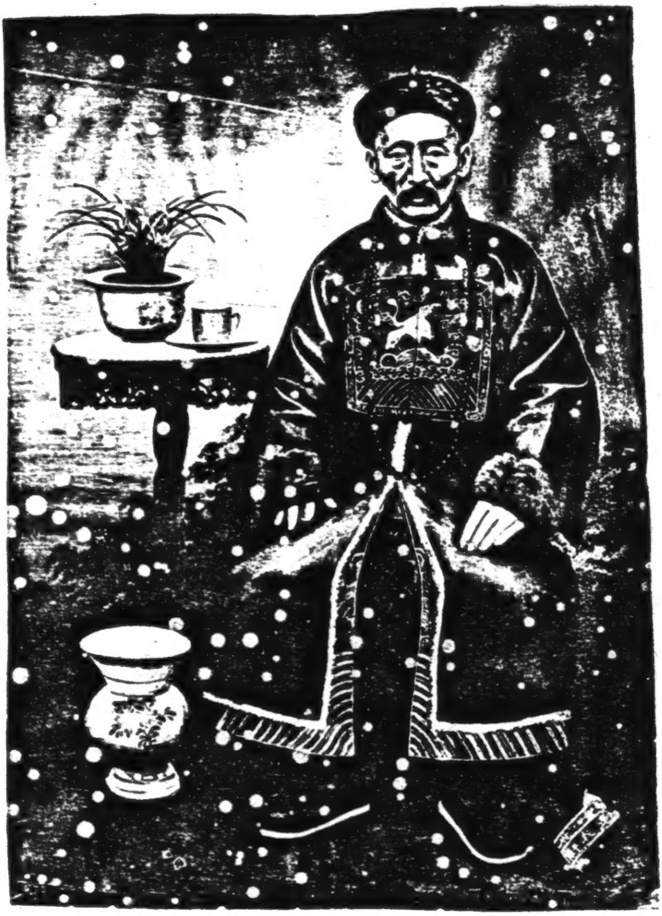


PLATE 42. — THE THIRTIETH GENERATION. MU YIN

木 蔭 三 十 世 考

[p.76 J]

212
173

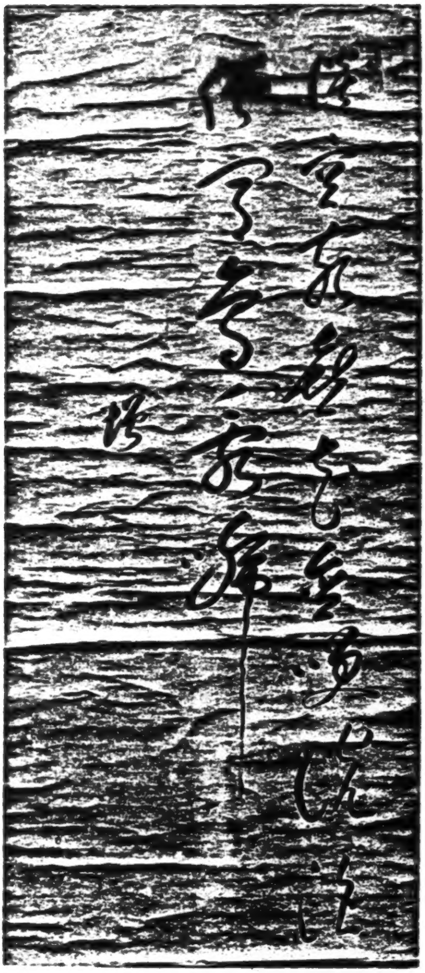


PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

木 生 自 手 書 對 聯

談空客喜花含笑	When the guests are delighted at my discussions of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;
說法僧聞鳥亂啼	While the monks are listening to my preaching of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly outside. The small character to left is Tseng 增.

[p. 76 M]

212
173

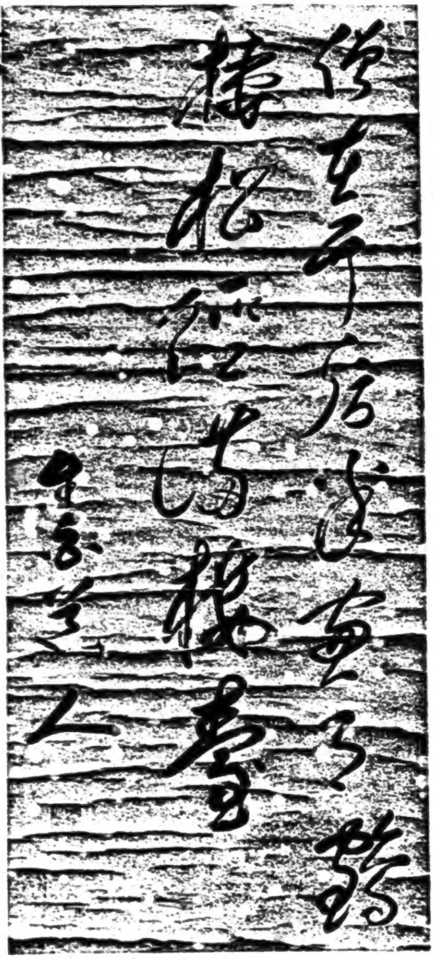


PLATE 46.—THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹房半簾月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴棲松徑滿樓臺 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the somberness of the pine tree glade.

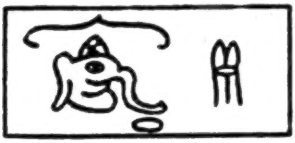
The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

[p. 76 N]

173 ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by some-
773 one in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with:
764 "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan̲-bpö d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-zä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

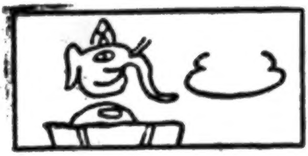
212 *First sentence.* — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able
173 old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan̲ nnü-gkv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan̲*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan̲* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbêr ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:



The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan̲*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bû), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan̲-llü-ndaw-gyi (K̦hü). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草俸地能俸 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 孵 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

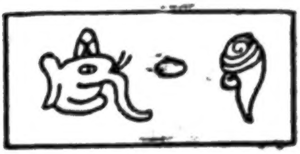
212 meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it.
173 The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:



We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 化 *feng*, a much more common one than *fu* 孵, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

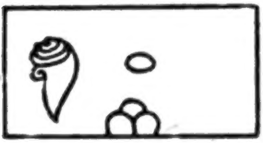
Third sentence. — 草仙殼孵殼 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu-gv*. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of Ts'o-zä was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. Zä is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Zä-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *gv* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:



Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

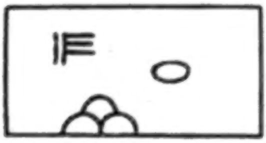
Fourth sentence. — 殼孵殼爐殼 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became," or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* 爐 represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 殼 is the Na-khi *gv* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):



The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch-shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

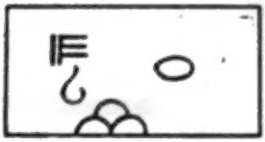
Fifth sentence. — 殼爐氣爐殼 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssaw-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus:

212/173



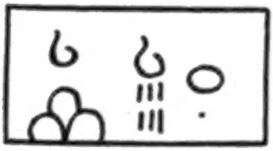
The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshĕr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]." or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshĕr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:



The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshĕr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshĕr-lv-ch'wua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshĕr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'wua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:

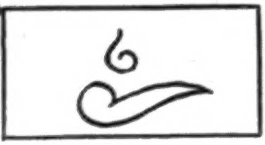


The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign: below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點海娘丁 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddü-t'o-khü-nyu-ndĕr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndĕr* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

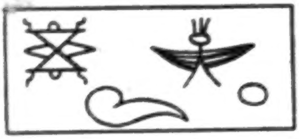
212 unable to pronounce final consonants; *ting* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndĕr*. In pictographs it is written:

• 173



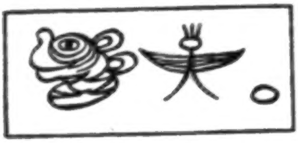
The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshĕr*, dewdrop, the lower *ķhü*, lake, sea.

Ninth sentence. — 海失海羨古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ķhü-shi-ķhü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Ķhü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born Ķhü-zä. Apparently the first human being was called Ķhü-zä. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake Ķhü-zä, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih* In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:



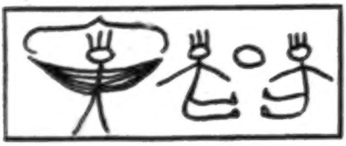
The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *ķhü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit Zä which here is, however, a phonetic only, *ķhü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic. It is part of the name of the first being Ķhü-zä. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海羨剌羨古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ķhü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From Ķhü-zä La-zä succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:



The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Ķhü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 剌羨天羨古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muaṉ-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä Muaṉ-zä came forth," or, La-zä was succeeded by Muaṉ-zä. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muaṉ* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muaṉ* is part of the name Muaṉ-zä. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muaṉ-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muaṉ*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

212
173

position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Ts'u-ts'u was the son of Muan̲-zä, the father's name always preceding the son's.

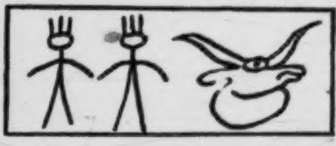
From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 during the reign of Kao Tsung, Shang-yüan 高宗上元 (674–675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung 天羨從從; Na-khi: Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u. The Na-khi word *muan̲* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muan̲-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, K'uei-tu-mu-shu 虧都母書; Na-khi: K'ö-dtu-mun̲-ssu.

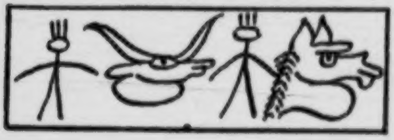
Second. — Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang 從從從羊; Na-khi: Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the Na-khi *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:



The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu 當青青書; Nakhi: Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu.

Third. — Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao 從羊從交; Na-khi: Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu; written in pictographs thus:



The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, Chi-li-chi-shu 集里集書; Na-khi: Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu.

Fourth. — Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien 從交交羨; Na-khi: Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze. He married the celestial woman, A-chün-ngai-shu 阿均岩書; Na-khi: A-dzi-ssä-ssu.

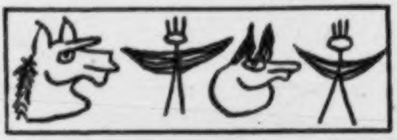
The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The Na-khi *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

212
193

first character *ngoi* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read *ssŭ*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

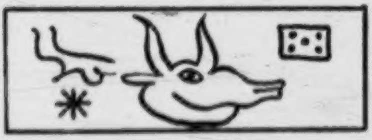
This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交羨比羨; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:



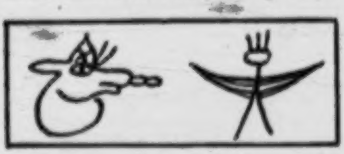
Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *sŭ* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *sŭ*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for "man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:

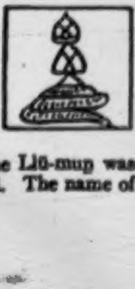


The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbĕr* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比羨草羨; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:



The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father, the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, whom the Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *llü-mun* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.[1] The symbol is that of a *llü-mun* (serpent spirit). Note the headdress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).

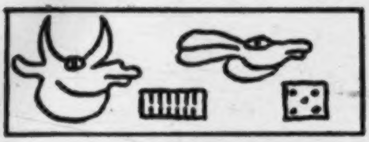


---

[1] In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr-mä* belonging to the *Ssu-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the Llü-mun (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the Llü-mun was called K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mä and the mother of the Na-khi K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr mä. The name of the father is not given.

The character *zä* is here read *dze*.

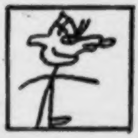
Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-ḳhü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus:



Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *ḳhü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

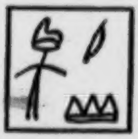
Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草羨里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ĕr-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.[3]

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:



The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-ḳhü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.



To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

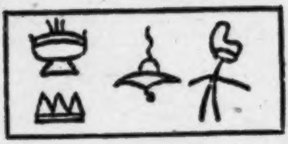
Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯于; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-noṉ. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *ṉ* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *noṉ* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ō married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鐘; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

---

[3] (*See* "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39–52 [1936].) —

212 woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.

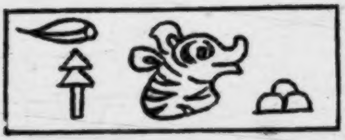
173



The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dsu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

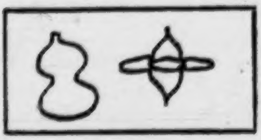
Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南伴普; Na-khi: Non̲-ō Na-bă-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 敕女敕他剌魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:



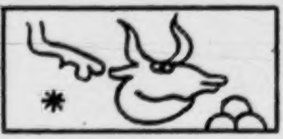
The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Non̲ (Llü-ghügh Non̲-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普于; Na-khi: Bă-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:



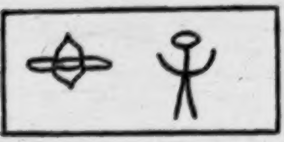
The first symbol is read *Bă-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ō*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bă-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木魯; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:



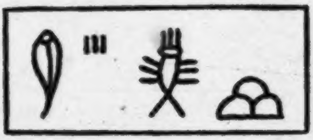
The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbĕr*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥來; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lă. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *Ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lă*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 敍女敍思母魯; Na-khi: 212 Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-muṉ-lv. Her name is written: 173

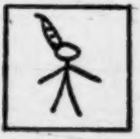


The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *muṉ* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

Ō Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called *Khi-nv* is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ō-shĕr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi nv* funeral ceremony.

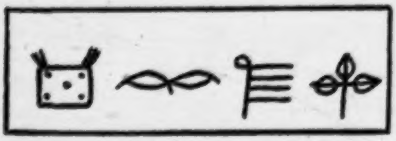
In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nuṉ-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.



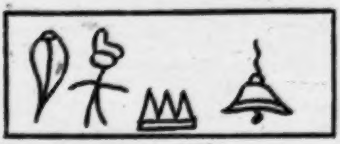
His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 敍女敍鍾; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (束 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs; the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, 173 fol. 60b, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 束葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family

木氏, originated from the Yeh clan. The two other clans, Mä and Ho (Mai 買, Ho 禾), dwelled outside on the mountains and in the Yangtze valley."

In a book belonging to the *Noṉ-bbu*, or *No-bbu* ceremony, the four clans are mentioned: "The Mä clan lived at Mä-ssä-t'a-wua-p'ĕr, the Ho at Ho-dsu-lv-na-wùa, the Ssu at Ssu-bbue-lv-lä-wùa and the Yu at Llü-shwua-yu-gkaw-la."

The family name for the common people was Ho, then and now written 和. This Chinese character was selected for the following reasons: It can be analysed into ノ口木. When the radical *p'ieh* is placed on top of the character *mu* 木 representing the family name of the chiefs, it becomes *ho* 禾 (grain); and by adding *k'ou* 口 (mouth) it becomes *ho* 和, which the peasants explain as feeding the mouths of the Mu family, hence the peasants of the Mu chiefs. Many of the people now calling themselves Ho were originally outsiders who, out of fear of the Na-khi chiefs, called themselves by this name to make believe that they were natives of Li-chiang, as they would otherwise have been driven out or suppressed.

It was during the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), that the Na-khi chiefs were given the family name Mu 木, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 2, fol. 18b. The Mu family did not allow the people who had charge of their affairs, and whose name was Mu by virtue of belonging to their family, to retain that name. If they represented the third generation they could use the name A 阿, the old family name of the Na-khi chiefs. If they represented the fifth generation they were given the name Ho 和. Outsiders coming to Li-chiang to settle had to call themselves Ho 和, therefore all the peasants were so named. After the country came under direct Chinese rule and the native magistrates ceased to exist in 1723, the peasants could readopt their old family names, and new settlers could keep their own names.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh and his wife Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi had three sons and, according to Na-khi manuscripts, they were collectively called Ghügh-khü ssu-zo-yi; the first-born became the ancestor of the Tibetans and lived at La-sa-t'o-k'ö-p'ĕr, his wife's name being P'ĕr-mi; the second was the Na-khi ancestor, his wife's name being Wu-mi-wu-dsu. According to the genealogy he was called Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ō and figures as the Na-khi descendant of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He dwelled at Dzi-yu-lü-gv-ō, that is, the "man born who dwelled in the center." The third son was the ancestor of the Lä-bbu (the Chinese Min-chia 民家). His wife's name was Ssa-mi, and he dwelled at Zhi-zaw-maṉ.

In one of the Na-khi funeral songs, called *Muṉ-ndz(ĕr)-ä-lä-dzhu*, occurs the passage: "Bu-lv zhi-zaw-maṉ, Lä-bbu ä-ssi muṉ," meaning, "At the tail-end of the shepherd's trail the father of the Lä-bbu died." Now the Lä-bbu are the Min-chia of the Ta-li plain and neighborhood. *Zhi-zaw-maṉ* = the end of the road, that is, where the road from the Na-khi highlands ends and that of the plain commences.

CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORICAL GENERATIONS OF THE NA-KHI KINGS

1. YÜEH-SUI CHAO

After the name of Ko-lai Ch'iu (Gkaw-lä Ts'ü of the Na-khi) there appears the following statement in the genealogy: 173

FIRST GENERATION. — The first ancestor was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. He was a Mo-so 摩娑 of the T'ang dynasty. Eleven generations previous to Yeh-ku-nien, during the Eastern Han (the land) was made the Yüeh-sui chao 越巂詔, Yüeh-sui Kingdom — *chao* meaning king. Six generations after Yeh-ku-nien it was changed to Tso-kuo chao 筰國詔, and Ting-tso-hsien 定筰縣 (district of Ting-tso; this included the land of the present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan). It was changed to K'un-ming 昆明 and (the ruler) promoted to K'un-ming Tsung-chün-kuan 昆明總軍官 (Commander-in-Chief of K'un-ming). To the ancestor Yeh-ku-nien in the time of T'ang Wu-te (618–626) and to the descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽,[1] there were in all 17 generations.

2. TSO-KUO CHAO

Ch'iu-yang 秋陽: In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty K'un-ming was merged with Sui chou 巂州. During the reign of Kao Tsung 高宗, in the period of Shang-yüan 上元 (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 (Governor of San-tien).[2] His wife's name was Mi-chün-hsi-shu 彌均習鼠.

---

[1] According to the introduction written by Yang Shen to the Second Chronicle, Yeh-ku-nien was a military official during the reign of T'ang Wu-te, and Ch'iu-yang took office in the period of Shang-yüan of T'ang Kao Tsung (674–675). His successor Yang-ku took office in the period of T'ien-pao of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 天寶玄宗 (742–755).

It is however stated in the Chronicle, more correctly in the introduction of Chang Chih-shun, that counting from Yeh-ku-nien to Ch'iu-yang, there were six hereditary rulers. The time which elapsed during these six rulers is only about 56 years. If the rulers represented six generations then the time is certainly insufficient. The records do not appear to be authentic; this seems to be confirmed by the statement on the memorial stone in the Mu burial ground that nothing is known about Yeh-ku-nien.

[2] In the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), Yeh-ku-nien is mentioned as Yeh-ku-cha 葉古乍. It states that he conquered the territory east of Li-chiang at the foot of the snow range, anciently called San-t'an 三賧 and which was inhabited by the savages called P'u-hsieh 僕繲. The same statement occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* under the now obsolete name of T'ung-an chou 通安州 (*which see*), situated three li east of the present city of Li-chiang. Its former name was San-t'an, the P'u-hsieh-man (here written 濮繲蠻) dwelled there, and Yeh-ku-nien of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) conquered the territory. *See*: Addendum page 471.

The name San-t'an is apparently identical with the Tibetan name of Li-chiang, which is Sa-tham (Na-khi, Sa-ddo). The latter is the name of the mountain god of the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Li-chiang snow range), who is also the patron spirit of the Na-khi. San-tien was east of T'ung-an chou. San-tien and San-t'an could not have been far apart and probably the two places are identical.

As to the P'u-hsieh savages mentioned at the beginning of the note the *Yün-nan T'ung-*

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 173 *Yang-yin Tu-ku* 陽音都谷:[3] During the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 in the period of K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741, actually 730) the Liu chao 六詔 (Six Kingdoms) were united into one which was called the Nan-chao Kingdom 南詔. Yang-yin Tu-ku became the San-tien Tsung-kuan, and hence turned his allegiance to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755), Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳, King of Nan-chao, rebelled against the Imperial rule of T'ang and invaded Sui chou 巂州. Ku commanded the vanguard of the Nan-chao troops. On account of his merit in capturing Cheng Hui 鄭回,[4] district magistrate of Hsi-lu 西瀘 of

---

chih, ch. 199, fol. 1a, states that "Wu Wang 武王 [of the Chou 周 dynasty, 1122–1116 B.C.] held a great assembly at Meng-chin 孟津 [in the present-day Huai-ch'ing fu 懷慶府, Ho-nan], at which men of Yung 庸, Shu 蜀, Ch'iang 羌, Mou 髳, Wei 微, Lu 盧, P'eng 彭 and P'u 濮 were present. Among these tribes were three from Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), namely the Mou, Wei and P'u. The P'u alone flourished." Later they became more and more numerous. Meng-chin (the ford of Meng) was on the Yellow river in Ho-nan. (See "The Books of Chou 周," "The Great Declaration 泰誓"; also "The Speech at Mu 牧誓." J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 281, 301 respectively.) The names of the tribes here enumerated are those of the Hsi-nan-i pa-kuo ming 西南夷八國名, *i.e.*, those of the eight kingdoms of the rude tribes on the west and south.

West of the village or market-place of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 of the Chinese), 20 li north of Li-chiang, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range, there is a village called 'A-k'ö (At the foot of the cliff). Its Chinese name is Ngai-chio 岩脚, but it is now more often spoken of as An-chüeh 安覺. On the cliff behind this village, there is an inscription (approachable only with a ladder) in the shape of a seven-character poem, which states that there at the foot of the cliff was the dwelling of the sacred lords (of the Mu family 木氏) of San-tien.

This was the first settlement of the Na-khi Kings. The stone platform where their houses stood and the old pillars of a temple are still visible.

The place is called 'A-k'ö d'a. The Mu family had 12 *d'a* (places of residence). There is a song chanted by the old Na-khi peasants which tells of these *d'a* of their ancient chiefs. (*See*: note 155, p. 148.) The Tai words *po-na* 伯那 or *pa-na* 八那 have apparently the same meaning as the Na-khi word *d'a*. The headings to the First Chronicle, as well as to the inscription on the memorial stone in the Mu family burial-ground, where the foot of the divine (exalted) Yü-lung Shan is mentioned as the *po-na* (residence) of Yang (Ch'iu-yang — Ch'iu being his father's name, Yang his own), have apparently reference to this first dwelling of the Na-khi chiefs at 'A-k'ö d'a, which is literally at the foot of the snow range. Ch'iu-yang, according to the Chronicle was the first ruler of San-tien, and it is very likely that 'A-k'ö d'a was his first place of residence.

There are two Chinese inscriptions and one in Tibetan on the cliff The oldest dates from the 13th year of Ming Chia-ching: "Written by Mu Kao 木高, after carefully bathing and qualified to become hereditary chief of the 38th generation [he was on that date 19 years old], in the Spring, the third moon and 12th day (April 24th, 1534)."

The first sentence tells of the origin of the Mu family in the following words: *Mu-shih yüan-yüan Yüeh Han lai* 木氏淵源越漢來, "The Mu family's origin is from Yüeh [Sui] Han dynasty." (The western part of Ssu-ch'uan during the Han dynasty comprised two *Chün*, I chou 益州 and Yüeh-sui 越巂. It was from the latter that the Mu family hailed according to the inscription above mentioned.)

The second inscription, also in a seven-character poem, was written by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung 木公 of the 37th generation and is dated the 15th day of the first moon of the 15th year of Chia-ching (February 16th, 1536). It tells of the extensive forests on all sides, like evening smoke settling over the landscape. These, alas, have now disappeared.

[3] This is the Yang-ku 陽谷 of the Second Chronicle of Yang Shen's list.

[4] Cheng Hui was a native of Hsiang chou 相州 in the circuit of Ho-pei 河北道 (the present-day Ho-pei Province). He was a scholar, and the magistrate of Hsi-lu in Sui chou 巂州, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan.

After his capture, Ko-lo-feng and his son, Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, treated him like a teacher — According to the *Ta-li hsien chih kao*, ch. 11, fol. 27b.

the T'ang dynasty, he was promoted by the Nan-chao Kingdom to the position of Tsung-tu Yüan-shuai 總督元帥 (Viceroy and Generalissimo). His wife was named A-shih A-hui 阿室阿揮 (in Na-khi, A-shi A-ḳhü).

Tu-ku La-chü 都谷剌具: In the 10th year of the period of T'ien-pao (751) of T'ang, the Nan-chao Kingdom defeated the Imperial army at the Hsi-erh River 西洱河, Yün-nan,[5] and invaded the office of the Governor-general of Yün-nan province. It now began to proclaim itself the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). As Chü acquired much merit by joining the punitive expeditions of the Nan-chao, it was approved that he succeed his father as Viceroy and Generalissimo. His wife was named A-shih A-yao 阿室阿堯.

La-chü P'u-meng 剌具普蒙: In the first year of the period of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (785), there was newly established the office of Chieh-tu shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner), to which Meng was appointed by the Emperor in the district of Li-shui 麗水 (the present Li-chiang). His wife was named A-shih T'ieh-nü 阿室偕女.

P'u-meng P'u-wang 普蒙普王: He succeeded his father as Imperial commissioner of Li-shui. In the third year of the period of Cheng-yüan (787), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋, King of Nan-chao, submitted to the Imperial court, but secretly still had connections with the T'u-fan 吐番. The Imperial court suspected this and instructed Wang to put restrictions on them. Meanwhile, a number of T'u-fan chiefs were enticed to attend a great banquet given by Wang in their honor in the temple called the Tien-ts'ang Shan-miao 點蒼山廟[6] of Ta-li. When they were drunk, he killed them all.

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan of T'ang Te Tsung (793), Wang guided the Imperial general Wei Kao 韋皐[7] with borrowed Nan-chao troops against the T'u-fan. The latter were then utterly defeated.

In the 10th year (794) Wang broke down the iron bridge at Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass). In the meantime, he captured 16 cities of the T'u-fan Kingdom and made captive its five princes. On account of the military merit achieved in this expedition, the Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit). His wife was named A-shih Chieh-chieh-yü-lu-lu 阿室節節于魯祿.

This might be said to have been the most prosperous age of the Mu family.

---

[5] The Hsi-erh Ho is the Ta-li Lake as well as the stream entering the lake in the north, and so is the exit of the lake at Hsia-kuan 下關.

[6] This is Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen Tz'u 點蒼山神祠 (Shrine of the Spirit of the Tien-ts'ang Range). It is situated three li west of T'ai-ho hsien in Ta-li district. For a detailed account of the decapitation of the Tibetan envoys see *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 17b; also SAINSON's translation, p. 52. It was in the shrine of the Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen (Tz'u) that I-mou-hsün swore allegiance to the T'ang empire.

[7] Wei Kao was a general in the T'ang dynasty who lived between 745–805. He ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans. He is said to have killed 480,000 of them in battle, also 1,500 generals, and beheaded 5,000 prisoners. He was a native of Ching-chao 京兆 in Shensi: his literary name was Ch'eng-wu 城武. The *Ch'in-ting chiu T'ang shu* 欽定舊唐書, ch. 140, p. 3, states that he sent a judge by name Ts'ui Tso-shih 崔佐時 to the Nan-chao Kingdom; he reached the Man Kuo 蠻國 (country of the savages) and its capital, Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 羊苴咩城, the present Ta-li 大理. There he met its king, I-mou-hsün, who begged him to cut off the T'u-fan.

173 *P'u-wang La-wan* 普王剌完: He inherited his father's title of Duke of military merit; his wife was named A-shih Wei-yu-yü-lü-neng 阿室爲由于呂能 (in Na-khi. A-shi Ghügh-yu-ō-lv-nnü).

La-wan Hsi-nei 剌完西內: In the reign of Hsien Tsung 憲宗, period Yüan-ho 元和 (806–820), the name of his kingdom was changed to Yüeh-hsi 越析, and he was appointed as its Chün-min Tsung-kuan 軍民總管 (Military and Civil governor). He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Han-nü 阿室漢女.

3. YÜEH-HSI CHAO

Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o 西內西可:[8] In the reign of Wen Tsung 文宗, period T'ai-ho 太和 (827–835), the Nan-chao Kingdom rebelled against the Imperial court, and invaded several districts in the State of Shu 蜀. Thenceforward it had no more connection with the empire. K'o still maintained his throne as King of the Yüeh-hsi chao and the title Chün-min Tsung-kuan. His wife was named A-shih P'u-mi 阿室蒲彌.

From now on, it became more and more difficult to control Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o and he was therefore left to himself; the Nan-chao Kingdom merely tried to keep him in restraint.

Hsi-k'o La-t'u 西可剌土:[9] In the fourth year of I Tsung 懿宗, period Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (863), on account of merit acquired by helping the Nan-chao Kingdom to invade Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tonkin, region of Hanoi), he was appointed as Wu-hsün Kung of the Yüeh-hsi Kingdom.

In the fourth year of the period Ch'ien-ning 乾寧, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (897), owing to the murder of the King of Nan-chao[10] by a man named Yang Teng 楊登, T'u was demoted to be Wu-hsün Hou 武勳侯 (Marquis of military merit) instead of duke.

In the first year of the period Kuang-hua 光化, of Chao Tsung 昭宗 (898), when Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞, son of Lung-shun 隆舜,[11] ascended the throne of Nan-chao, T'u was again promoted to his original position of Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Ko-nü 阿室哥女.

La-t'u O-chün 剌土俄均: In the second year of the period T'ien fu 天復, of Chao Tsung (902), Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣[12] usurped the throne of Nan-chao, destroyed the Meng royal family and called his kingdom Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great Ch'ang-ho Kingdom). Thenceforward Chün had no more connection with the Cheng family 鄭氏. He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Hsien-lu 阿室羡魯 and gave birth to six sons, named Mou-chü 牟具, Mou-tao 牟刀, Mou-ku 牟古, Mou-tai 牟歹, Mou-lai 牟來 and Mou-t'ung 牟通. Each of them became the chief of a clan.

---

[8] He is the ninth of Yang Shen's list and is there called Nung-k'o 濃可.

[9] He is the 10th of Yang Shen's list, where he is called K'o-t'ung 可同.

[10] The King of Nan-chao who was murdered by Yang Teng was Lung-shun 隆舜. His usurped posthumous title was Hsüan Wu Ti 宣武帝. He was the 12th king of the Ta Meng Kuo (Ta Meng dynasty) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He began his rule in 877 when he was 17 years old and changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-feng-min Kuo 大封民國. He was murdered in Yün-nan fu after ruling for 20 years.

[11] Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞 of Nan-chao ascended the throne in 897 when he was 21 years old. In the eleventh moon of 899 he killed Yang Teng, murderer of his father, and all his family. He died in 902 leaving a little son eight months old. He was the last ruler of the house of Meng 蒙, there being 13 generations from the founder, Prince Hsi-nu-lo 細奴羅.

[12] Cheng Mai-ssu was a cruel and ambitious man. He killed Shun-hua-cheng's son and exterminated the Meng family and all its relatives. He was a Chinese, and formerly held

O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具: He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Chü-chung 阿室具中.

Mou-chü Mou-hsi 牟具牟西: In the reign of Sung Cheng Tsung 眞宗 (998–1022) his official title was changed to that of Wu-ying Hou 武英侯 (Marquis of military heroism). His wife was named A-shih-chiao 阿室交.

4. MO-SO CHAO

Mou-hsi Mou-ts'o 牟西牟磋: In the period of Chih-ho 至和 of Sung Jen Tsung 仁宗 (1054–1055) he was made the supreme chief of the Mo-so chao 摩娑詔. At that time, though the Tuan family 段氏[13] was becoming very powerful (at Ta-li), it was never able to bring Ts'o to submission. His wife was named A-shih Yü-li 阿室于里.

Mou-ts'o Mou-lo 牟磋牟樂: In the period of Cheng-ho 政和 of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1111–1117), he succeeded his father as supreme chief. His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌睦.

Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保: Together with Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和 he bore the title of General-in-Chief. His wife's name was A-shih-nü 阿室女.

5. FROM THE SECOND TO SIXTH GENERATION

SECOND GENERATION. — *Mou-pao A-tsung* 牟保阿琮 (PLATE 12): At the age of seven he could read Chinese characters without having been taught by a teacher. When he was full-grown, he understood the languages of the different tribes, and could read the Chinese classics written by the ancient philosophers. He was therefore regarded by all his people as a man possessing supernatural powers. In addition to that, he first invented the characters of his own tribal language.[14]

---

office in Ssu-ch'uan. On account of his evil deeds, he had to flee to Yün-nan, and there found employment. He secured much power under Shun-hua-cheng and became First Grand Secretary. After exterminating the Meng family (800 members), he made himself King of Nan-chao at the age of 42, in the second year of T'ien-fu in the twelfth moon (actually January, 903). He died in September, 910, after having ruled eight years.

[13] The Tuan family founded the Ta-li Kingdom, which existed from 937 to 1094 under 14 successive rulers.

[14] The Na-khi possess two types of writing, a pictographic and a syllabic (phonetic); the latter consists of more or less simple characters which the *dto-mba* (priests) call *Ggŏ-ba*. They resemble simple Chinese and also Lo-lo (No-su) characters, and were supposed to have been invented by the disciples of Dto-mba Shi-lo, the founder of Na-khi Shamanism (also the founder of Bön, the ancient pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet). Dto-mba Shi-lo's disciples were called Di-tz Ggŏ-ba. The first two syllables are of Chinese origin, viz: *ti-tzu*

173 Once he happened to go to the Yü-lung Shan and there saw a large stone basin full of clear water. He drank of it and heard some birds singing in the clouds. He thus came to understand the language of birds and beasts. All his people were greatly surprised at his wonderful talents, so that his fame reached the ear of Tuan 段, King of Ta-li. The latter did not believe the rumours about him, but sent messengers to him and invited him to his palace. On his arrival, the king requested him earnestly to tell him the meaning of the noise of some crows which were flying about at that moment. Tsung said: "The crows say, 'There is a dead horse lying at the other side of this mountain. Let us go to eat it.'" In another moment two doves were cooing. The king asked him to interpret their meaning. He replied: "One of them said, 'There is much ripe barley growing on that hill-side. Would you like to go and feed on it?' The other replied, 'No, we cannot do so, because there are eagles nesting on the branches of the cypress trees over there.'" The king actually sent men to see whether there were really eagles, and they returned and confirmed that what Tsung had said was true. He tested him repeatedly, but he made not a single mistake, and the king began to respect him and offered him many gifts.

One day it happened that the king destroyed a swallow's nest under the eaves of his palace, and taking the young swallows, put them secretly into one of his sleeves. He pretended to enquire of Tsung why the parent swallows were making so much noise around the eaves. He answered him saying: "The swallows are blaming you, and prophesying that the reign of your royal house will soon draw to an end, and are inquiring why you do not try to build up your character, instead of destroying their nest." On hearing this, the king was displeased. Meanwhile, a certain book dropped from heaven into the sea, out of which a dragon showed its head, presenting the book hanging from one of its horns. Some men fetched the book and offered it to the king. Its contents were unintelligible to him. One of his subjects suggested that they should ask the sage Tsung to explain it. Thus he was again welcomed to the palace, and reading the book through, interpreted it as saying: "Some ten years later, Mongol soldiers will come down to Ta-li, etc." After that prophecy, Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), of the Yüan dynasty, led his troops in person to conquer Ta-li, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the heavenly book.

While Tsung was still alive, the different clans of the Mo-so royal family divided themselves into several small States, and competed with one another for supreme power. Afterwards, however, they were all overcome by his sincerity, fame and virtue, so much so that they united and paid homage to him as their only king. Hence we see Heaven really had a definite purpose in choosing this particular man to lay this foundation for their royal throne, and to hand down blessings to the obedient and virtuous descendants of their families, by first showing them his own faithfulness and benevolence.

(disciple) 弟子, *ggŏ-ba* (to rise to the dance). Very few *dto-mba* are able to read the *Ggŏ-ba* script, while all can read the pictographs. The latter were invented considerably later than the *Ggŏ-ba* script which, it is my belief, was brought by them from their home in the far north, the grasslands of Tibet. Thus their written (syllabic) language has degenerated rather than developed. The pictographic script was developed in their present home, for the symbols used represent birds, insects, wild animals and plants, indigenous to Li-chiang or northwest Yün-nan in general.

Later two more States, the Shan-shan Kingdom 善闡國 and Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏,[15] also acknowledged Tsung as their prophet and sage. Oh! this proves why the lineage of the Mu family is enabled to maintain its everlasting existence, and again explains to us the old saying: "The princely man can found and hand down an inheritance for hundreds and thousands of generations."

Tsung's wife was named A-shih-ch'iu 阿室秋, and was the noble daughter of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏.[16] She gave birth to one son named Liang 良, who succeeded to his father's throne.

THIRD GENERATION. — *A-tsung A-liang* 阿琮阿良 (PLATE 13)[1]: As the only son of Tsung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the first year of the reign of Li Tsung 理宗, period Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253), of the Southern Sung dynasty, Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1251–1259), of the Mongols, ordered his royal brother named Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai), later Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of China (1260–1279), to conquer Ta-li in person. Liang went to welcome the soldiers at the mouth of the La-pa River 剌巴江.[17] On account of his kind hospitality and proper courtesy to them, Kublai conferred on Liang the honorary title of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil Governor of the Ch'a-han-chang [White Jang]), gave him two suits of official uniforms, one official hat made of yellow wool with a jade button embedded in gold plate on the top, and two assistants, one to precede and one to follow him. He also received an official girdle and pair of top-boots. These presents were sent to him by two official secretaries who walked in procession along the street in his honor.

---

[15] Under Shan-shan Kuo, Yün-nan must be understood, for Shan-shan fu was the name of the capital (the present K'un-ming) during the rule of the Nan-chao King Ch'üan-feng-yu 勸豐佑 (824–859).

Wu-ssu-tsang was the Ming dynasty designation for the present Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet), whose capital is Lha-sa.

[16] Hsien-t'ao was the family name of a Mo-so chief of Pai-sha 白沙 (the Na-khi Boa-shi), who gave his daughter in marriage to Yeh-yeh (*which see*).

[17] There are two La-pa Chiang k'ou (Mouth of the La-pa River), one only 80 li distant from Li-chiang, and the other 7 stages from that city, at Yung-ning. The one mentioned in the Chronicle is at the foot of the spur on which Shih-ku 石鼓 is situated and where the La-pa Chiang debouches into the Yangtze, west of Li-chiang. This river is called La-ba gyi in Na-khi (Waters of La-ba) because the river has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba), and also because La-ba is the Na-khi name of Shih-ku. Besides being known as La-pa Chiang 剌巴江, the stream is also called Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 (The river which rushes into the Yangtze) by the Chinese. As the Chronicle states that Liang met the Mongol soldiers at the mouth of the La-ba River, and not Kublai Khan himself, it must be taken for granted that he went to the La-ba Stream which enters the Yangtze at Shih-ku, only one day's journey from Li-chiang. To enter Li-chiang territory proper coming from the Yen-tang region, one must cross the La-ba Stream where it debouches into the Yangtze at Shih-ku, and where an iron chain-bridge spans it. It is by this route that Wu-lan-ha-ta led his army corps. Thus it becomes fairly certain that Liang met Wu-lan-ha-ta and his soldiers at Shih-ku, and not Kublai Khan with his cavalry at Yung-ning, where is situated the other La-ba Chiang k'ou. It is not likely that Liang would go seven days from his own district to meet a doubtful foe.

The other La-pa Chiang-k'ou (mouth of the river La-pa) passes at Yung-ning through the meadow La-pa-ddü (Chinese, Jih-yüeh ho 日月和 or Union of the Sun and Moon) where Kublai camped with his army (PLATE 212). It has its source in a grassy, swampy plateau, elevation 11,600 feet, to the south of Yung-ning 永寧. The stream, as with most water-

[1] [see p. 28 M-- Analyst]

173 Meanwhile, they took the city of Chü- .nin chou 巨津州 by storm, and at the walled village of Pan-kung-ho 半空和 he made prisoner the brigand leader A-t'a-la 阿塔剌. On account of this achievement, he was promoted to the position of Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu 茶罕章宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang). He then captured the village of Ta-ko 大各 and also participated in conquering Ta-li, where they made the powerful chief Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智 prisoner. In reward for his splendid military service, he was again promoted by the Mongols to be Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the right wing of the army of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai 兀良合台, the famous Mongol Commander-in-Chief, and was given a battle-axe and a golden tiger-head shield. Later, Wu-liang-ho-t'ai returned to Ta-li to guard that station,

---

courses in China, has several names. Its source is called A-ngu; where it enters the forested valley it becomes the Bo-wu-tsu; still further north near the village of Mu-dri it becomes the Bu-llu dji and as such passes through a narrow rocky defile and flows as the La-pa Ho (La-pa dji) through the meadow where Kublai camped with his army. The exit of a stream through a defile is spoken of as a *k'ou* 口 (mouth). The stream beyond the meadow is called the Hli dji (Waters of Hli, the native name of Yung-ning), Hli dü (Land of Hli), and (on Chinese maps) the K'ai-chi Ho, from the village of K'ai-chi 開基, past which the river flows on to the Yung-ning plain. The stream receives many affluents and debouches into the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打沖河), which in turn flows into the Li-t'ang River 裏塘河 (*see* Geographical Part: Yung-ning).

It is precisely at the meadow of La-pa-ddü, where Kublai camped with his army, that the Yung-ning chiefs will escort visitors, and that lamas starting out on a long journey will camp, although only about two li from the Yung-ning monastery.

As to Kublai Khan's campaign and his march through Mo-so (Na-khi) land, the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), printed in Chiang-su 江蘇 in the 13th year of T'ung-chih (1874), ch. 4, p. 1b, states that Hsien Tsung 憲宗 ordered the attack on Yün-nan. On the day 丙午 of the seventh moon of the second year (August 30, 1252) the expedition went westwards from Ma-ya 禡牙. In the eighth moon of the 3rd year (1253) the army was dispatched to camp at Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (this is the present Ti-tao on the T'ao River 洮河 in west Kan-su). The officers I-la-chu 伊拉球 (玉律朮), Wang Chün-hou 王君侯 and Wang Chien 王鑑 were sent in advance to Ta-li (to make known the Imperial command), but they were not successful. On the day 壬寅 of the ninth moon (October 20th, 1253), the army camped at T'a-la 塔拉 (the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 上, fol. 44a, calls it T'e-la 忒剌), and thence they separated, going by three different routes. Wu-lan-ha-ta 烏蘭哈達 (兀良合帶), led the army corps of the west, following the Yen-tang 晏當 road; Prince Ch'a-han-i-chao-erh 察罕伊兆爾 (抄合也只烈) conducted the army of the east by way of the land of the Pai-man 白蠻; the Imperial brother led by the middle route. The Li-chiang Records state, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 35b, that the ancient Yen-tang was outside the western border of Li-chiang in uncontrolled territory. T'e-lieh 忒列 was within the land of the T'u-fan. The land of the Pai-man is the present-day Yao-an fu 姚安府, which is north of Chen-nan 鎮南 and seven and a half stages west of K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

Hu-pi-lieh's cavalry came by Yüeh-sui and crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) in the Pei-sheng 北勝 district (to which Yung-ning belongs).

On the day 乙巳 of the ninth moon (October 23rd) the Mongols arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城, where they left their baggage and chariots. On the day 丙午 of the tenth moon (October 24th), they crossed the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河 and marched over mountains and through valleys for over 2,000 li, until they arrived on the Chin-sha Chiang. On inflated skins and rafts they crossed to Mo-so (territory). The chief of the Man came to welcome them and made his submission (their land was north of Ta-li, over 400 li distant). On the day 辛卯 of the eleventh moon (December 8th, 1253) Hu-pi-lieh sent I-la-chu 伊拉球 and two other envoys to Ta-li. They were killed by Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, the Nan-chao King. On the day 丁酉 (December 14th), the army arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 in the land of the Pai-man 白蠻, whose military chief came forth to submit. His nephew resisted, while Liang went back to the Mo-so Kingdom to rule as its king. Again, His Majesty the Emperor presented him with the following words of praise: *T'ien-mu-cheng-chi* 添睦貞吉 (Increase of peace and happiness). Afterwards he took by storm the T'ieh ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.[18]

In the period Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (1264–1294), the Emperor gave Liang a silver seal weighing 48 taels, which authorized his appointment to the office of T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 (Field-Marshal in command of Armies of all routes). The territories under his control were named Yüeh-hsi Chün 越析郡, Po-hsing fu 伯興府, Yung-ning fu 永寧府, Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, Lang-ch'ü chou 浪蕖州, Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯,

---

and they captured and killed him, but did not molest the people. On December 17th (1253) they camped at San-tien 三甸 (Li-chiang) (*see* pp. 391–393).

On December 18th the Pai-man brought presents. On the day 丙辰 of the twelfth moon (January 2nd, 1254) the army besieged the city of Ta-li.

The Pai-man mentioned here are in all probability the Mo-so, and Pai-man is a translation of the Mongol Cha-han-chang (White Jang), or, perhaps, the Pai-lan-man (White Wolf savages), after whom the Li-chiang territory was once called. The Pai-man Ta-kuo chai 打郭寨 was in Na-khi territory and is undoubtedly identical with the present-day Ta-ku 打鼓, a group of villages on a small plain on the Yangtze, two days north of Li-chiang. This would also tally with the time it took the Mongol army to reach San-tien. They arrived at Ta-kuo-chai on December 14th, and were camping at San-tien on December 17th, allowing from the 15th to the 17th to reach there. Certainly the Pai-man of Yao-an are not meant here.

As to the place where Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze, the *Yüan Shih*, ch. 61, fol. 7a, has the following to say: "Pao-shan (La-pao) is east of the snow range (Yü-lung Shan); the Li Chiang (Li River = Yangtze) comes from the west and encircles it on three sides (it is within the Yangtze loop) like a girdle. In ancient days the Mo-so-man dwelt there; the first Mo-so came from Lou-t'ou 樓頭 (Lü dü = Yung-ning, *which see*), they had dwelt at Pao-shan for twenty generations (at the time of the Mongol invasion). When Shih Tsu 世祖 was engaged on his expedition against the Ta-li Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭, and passed by Lo-pang 羅邦; he arrived at the villages of Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍 and Ta-kuei 大匱. All these places came under the sub-district of Pao-shan 寶山. The headmen of these four places submitted to Kublai Khan, who called their villages Cha-han-hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of [the period] Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) the seven places of Ta-kuei became the Pao-shan hsien 寶山縣 (magistracy of Pao-shan)."

The ancient Pao-shan, according to the Li-chiang Records, was 240 li east of the present city of Li-chiang (north-east is correct). It was in the western part of the Chün of Yüeh-sui of the Han dynasty. In the Latter Han it belonged to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and in the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by the Mo-so-man 麼些蠻. According to the map in the second volume of the Li-chiang Records, ch. 2, fols. 2b–3a, Pao-shan is within the Yangtze loop and comprises the region between the present Feng-k'ou and La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶), colloquially called La-po in Na-khi. According to this, Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze coming from Yung-ning at the place where the Yangtze is still crossed, namely at what is now called Feng-k'o 奉可 (*see* Geographical Part, p. 238). The name Lo-pang apparently represents the Na-khi La-bpu or La-po; Lo-ssu-wei is probably Lv-tso-lo; and the Pien-t'ou is P'u-dyu, where one crosses from Yung-ning to Feng-k'o, another name for P'u-dyu being Law-k'a-khi-llü. Ta-kuei was a small place where, during the T'ang dynasty, seven brothers of the Mo-so man had settled.

[18] According to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 42b, Hua-ma Kuo, was the district of Chü-chin chou, and it was there that Emperor Shih Tsu (Kublai) had his outposts.

In Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b, the Li-chiang Records speak of a Hua-ma Shan 花馬山. This mountain is situated 350 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern border of the

173 Pai-lang 白狼, P'an-mu 槃木, I-liao 夷獠, etc. As to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府,[19] it had been brought under the control of his Mo-so Kingdom for many generations beginning with the T'ang dynasty, therefore it is not mentioned here.

Since the 11th year of the Chih-yüan period (1274) Liang had repeatedly received Imperial mandates conferring on him various degrees of honor and the dragon-design medal. His Majesty the Emperor also conferred on him the honorary title of Chin-tzu-kuang-lu ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 (Minister of the Imperial court in the principal first official rank), and the additional honorary title of T'ung-chün-ssu 統軍司 (Field-Marshal), together with the right to use the same ceremonies as the three chief commissioners of the whole province. His wife was named A-shih Yü-hsien 阿室于先, and was the daughter of Kan-lo-mu-t'u 干羅木土 (perhaps a descendant of Kan-lo-mu-tu, *see* p. 73). On her was conferred the honorary title of Kuo fu-jen 國夫人 (Wife of the official of the principal first rank). She gave birth to three sons, named Hu 胡, Chieh 節 and Nai 耐. The eldest son, A-hu, succeeded to his father's throne.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-liang A-hu* 阿良阿胡 (PLATE 14)[1]: As the eldest son of Liang, he succeeded his father as Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was appointed as Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan and assumed the hereditary office of Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the first year of the period Yüan-cheng 元貞, of the reign of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (1295), the Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor and the distinguished dragon-design medal, together with the honorary titles of Cheng-feng ta-fu 正奉大夫 and Hu-chün Hsüan-wei-ssu 護軍宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of military affairs). His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌母, the daughter of Ho-hui Ho-mi 和揮和迷 of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏

---

ancient Chü-chin chou. On the cliff there is a rock of variegated colors in the shape of a horse. Anciently the Mo-so Kingdom called itself Hua-ma Kuo from the piebald stone on the cliff. In the First Chronicle it is called 驃 Hua-ma Kuo. The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 上, fol. 1b, column 2 relates that Yüeh-hsi chao was established by Po-ch'ung 波衝 and was also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo. This was during the reign of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (713–755). Po-ch'ung must have been the predecessor of Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽音都谷, for the latter was the first San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 in the Six kingdoms (Liu chao 六詔), and the six chao were only united after the murder of Po-ch'ung by the violent chieftain Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求; this was in 738, the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元. There is still in existence a village called T'a-dza in Na-khi and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 in Chinese, both meaning "pagoda city." This T'a-dza was the walled city (*dza* = a wall) of Hua-ma Kuo.

[19] Of the above-mentioned places, Yüeh-hsi is Li-chiang; at the end of the period of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was captured by the Tibetans. Afterwards it belonged to Nan-chao. During the Mongol dynasty (1277) it became Yen-ching 鹽井 (Salt-well) of Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in south-west Ssu-ch'uan. Po-hsing fu, also written 柏興 and 柏興府, where the Mo-so once dwelled, was the Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣 of the Han dynasty, governed by Yüeh-sui. Yung-ning is north-east of Li-chiang to the north-east of the Yangtze loop; Pei-sheng fu is the district and city of Yung-pei 永北, now called Yung-sheng 永勝; Lang-ch'ü chou is between Yung-sheng and Yung-ning, a territory still ruled by a Mo-so (Na-khi) chief. Lo-lo-ssu was ruled by a military commissioner, and was in Chien-ch'ang 建昌 (Hsi-ch'ang) in Ssu-ch'uan; the Pai-lang and P'an-mu were tribes who were later ruled by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang), the Pai-lang belonging with their land to Li-chiang territory according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* ,Vol. 下, ch. 5, fol. 69a; while the P'an-mu dwelled west of Mou chou 茂州 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan. Ho-ch'ing is a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang.

[1] [see p. 28 N-- Analyst]

(local chiefs of Pai-sha). On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen 郡夫人. She gave birth to one son, named A-lieh 阿烈, who succeeded to his father's throne. His second wife gave birth to one son named A-chi 阿吉.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *A-hu A-lieh* 阿胡阿烈 (PLATE 15): As the elder son of Hu, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 13th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347)[20] there was established in his kingdom the new office of Li-chiang Lu Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 麗江路軍民總管府. Under this authority he controlled one fu-city called Pei-sheng 北勝; seven chou cities called T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, Pao-shan 寶山,[21] Lan chou 蘭州,[22] Yung-ning 永寧, Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖 and Shun chou 順州;[23] and one hsien city called Lin-hsi 臨西.[24]

In the 15th year of the same emperor (1349) (actually 8th year of the period Chih-cheng 至正), he appointed his brother A-chi 阿吉 as Chü-tien Chün-min kuan min-kuan 巨甸軍民管民官 and An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Governor of military and civil affairs, and Chieftain of the frontier lands) of the place called Chü-tien 巨甸.

On Lieh the Emperor conferred various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, and the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 and Ch'ing ch'e tu-yü Tsung-kuan-fu 輕車都尉總管府 (Governor of the fu-magistracy of the sixth order of nobility). His wife was named A-shih Chang-meng-a-chia 阿室丈蒙阿加, daughter of La-pa La-t'u 剌巴剌土. On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen. She gave birth to one son named A-chia 阿甲, who succeeded to his father's throne.

* * *

---

[20] The period Chih-yüan lasted only to 1340, but the succeeding period, Chih-cheng 至正, of the same Emperor, has been ignored and Chih-yüan continued by the writer of the two Chronicles.

[21] Pao-shan was north-east of Li-chiang and north-east of the present Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 (Mba-yi-wùa in Na-khi); it is 240 li from Li-chiang and is the present La-pao. It is a district of many villages, among the mountains of the Yangtze loop and on the west bank of the Yangtze, where a large village is situated called La-bpu 'a-k'o. The village of T'o-k'ö-shěr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese) belongs to the La-pao district — the Na-khi name means "Long foot of the pine," because there is a large pine grove on a high hill; and the Chinese name means "Long pine flat." North of La-pao the Yangtze flows through a terrific gorge, a tremendous rock defile called Gv-ho-gu. In the rock of the cliff west of it which forms the T'ai-tzu Kuan (*q.v.*), the Mu family is said to have carved the following characters, 剌寶太子關手伸摩得天 *La-pao t'ai-tzu kuan shou-shen mo-te t'ien* = [On] the La-pao pass of the heir apparent, the raised hand may feel Heaven.

[22] Lan chou is the present-day Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, 360 li south-west of Li-chiang.

[23] Shun chou is 120 li west of Yung-sheng 永勝 and east of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty it was a dependency of Ho-ch'ing. It was called Niu-t'an 牛睒 during the T'ang.

[24] The obsolete Lin-hsi was north-west of the secondary prefecture of Chü-chin. The latter was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. On a map published during the Ming dynasty in 1643 Lin-hsi is placed north of the T'ieh ch'iao (Iron bridge), which itself was 130 li north of Chü-chin. Lin-hsi was a hsien-city 460 li from Li-chiang and was inhabited entirely by Na-khi. In the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) Lin hsi was ruled by Li-chiang, and later came under Wei-hsi 維西.

173 After careful examination, we learn that when A-tsung A-liang became Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan, it was the fourth year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1254). In the fourth year of the period Chung-t'ung 中統 of Emperor Shih Tsu (1263) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu. In the ninth year, period Chih-yüan (1272), the Emperor conferred on him a silver seal, and appointed him T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 Field Marshal in command of All Routes of the Armies.

A-liang A-hu became Ch'a-han-chang, and succeeded his father as hereditary Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Vice-Commander-in-Chief), and in the 25th year of the same reign (1288) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the Ch'a-han-chang).

In the first year of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗, period Ta-te 大德 (1297), the interior of China was in a disturbed condition. At that time Liang Wang 梁王, a prince of the Yüan dynasty, became ruler of Shan-shan 繕闡[25] and divided his territory with another ruler named Tuan Kuang 段光.[26] Prince Liang also invaded two other States called Ch'ieh-hsi-t'ai 且西台 and Yao-yüeh-ssu 遙越聛.

During the reign of T'ai Ting Ti 泰定帝 (1324–1328), on account of bad communications and natural barriers, we cannot secure much historical information about A-hu A-lieh. However, we know that in the eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan 至元 (1342), he became Pacification commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang.

From the ninth year of Shih Tsu 世祖, period Chih-yüan (1272), to the 13th year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347), were only 67 years,[27] and there had ruled in China ten emperors of the Yüan dynasty, but during that period the Mu family had only descended three generations.

The eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1342), was the second year of the period Chih-cheng 至正 (1342). The 13th year of Chih-yüan (1347) was the seventh year of Chih-cheng (1347) (*see* note 20 on p. 97).

With regard to the official ranks mentioned, according to the system of the Yüan dynasty, Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 宣慰使司 (Pacification commissioner) was equal to the secondary second rank. Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 [Chieftain of the (Yün-nan) frontier tribes] and the Vice-Chieftain were each equal to the principal third rank. An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Chieftain of the [Yün-nan] frontier tribes — similar to the above-mentioned Hsüan-fu-ssu) was equal to the same rank. Chu-lu Tsung-kuan-fu 諸路總管府 (fu-governor of the various districts) was equal to the secondary third rank. The offices of Chih-chou 知州 173 and Shang-chou 上州 (Magistrate of a chou-city) were each equal to the secondary fourth rank. The above references are given for clear understanding.

---

[25] Liang Wang was King (*Wang*) of Yün-nan; his full name was Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. He was the descendant of the fifth son of Kublai Khan, who was called Hu-ko-ch'ih 忽哥赤 and was King of Yün-nan. Shan-shan 鄯闡 is the present K'un-ming. The first character for Shan is wrong and so is the one on page 93.

[26] Tuan Kuang was ruler of western Yün-nan. He was the ninth hereditary governor of Ta-li fu. He took office in 1333 and divided his territory with Prince Liang in 1334. The latter attacked him in 1335 at Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺. This is a high mountain pass between Chao chou 趙州 and Hung-ngai 紅崖 on the K'un-ming Ta-li road and was then called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山. Liang was defeated and afterwards bribed Tuan's cook who poisoned his master in 1345.

[27] The chronicle says 67 years had elapsed between the ninth year of Shih Tsu and the 13th year of Shun Ti, but actually 75 years had elapsed between those two dates.

* * *

SIXTH GENERATION. — *A-lieh A-chia* 阿烈阿甲 (PLATE 16): He was also named Yüan Te 元德 and, as the eldest son of Lieh, succeeded to his father's throne. In the 22nd year of Shun Ti (Chih-yüan) (1356) (actually the 16th year of Chih-cheng), the fu-magistracy was abolished, and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu was established in its stead. It was later changed into the office of the magistracy of T'ung-an chou. The Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, the honorary title of Ch'ao-ch'ing ta-fu Ch'i-tu-yü 朝請大夫騎都尉 (Minister of the Imperial audience, and the seventh order of nobility), and appointed him as Chief magistrate of the chou-city, with the addition of the principal third rank. His wife was named A-shih-yüan 阿室圓 (also, Chü-mu 佉母). She was the daughter of A-tu 阿都, Yu-ch'eng 右丞 (Junior deputy) of the Mongol family Hu-i-p'u-tu 胡以普都 of Chien-ch'uan 劍川.[28] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to four sons, named A-te 阿得, A-chü 阿佉, A-ya 阿牙 and A-chien 阿見. His second wife gave birth to three sons, named A-ts'ung 阿從, A-tai 阿歹 and A-ch'ang 阿昌. The eldest son, A-te, succeeded to his father's throne.

[The graves of the different ancestors of the 21 generations mentioned above are all located on the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain). Twice a year, in the winter and summer, the Mu family still offers sacrifices to them, in accordance with traditional custom. As to the graves of the different ancestors of the following seven generations, it built temples to them, and still regularly offers sacrifices to them.]

6. FROM THE SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH GENERATION

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-chia A-te* 阿甲阿得 (PLATE 17): He was the magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Te 木得, he was also named Tzu-jan 自然 and Heng-chung 恆忠. He was the eldest son of Chia. In the last reign of the Yüan dynasty, he became Chih-chou 知州 (Magistrate) of the chou-city of T'ung-an and later he was promoted to the position of Li-chiang Hsüan-fu-ssu fu-shih 麗江宣撫司副使 (Vice-Chieftain of the district of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the Celestial army (Chinese army) came to the southern part of China, and conquered Ta-li and many other cities. Te was the first to lead his troops to swear allegiance to Fu Yu-te 傅友德, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern expedition, Ying-kuo Kung 潁國公 (Duke of Ying-kuo), and T'ai-tzu T'ai-shih 太子太師 (Grand preceptor to the Heir Apparent). Fu and other military leaders made a report to the Emperor on behalf of Te. His Majesty was so pleased that he conferred on him the surname Mu 木, and ordered him to work together with Fu at headquarters, waiting for suitable appointments.

---

[28] Chien-ch'uan 劍川 is a walled city between Ta-li and Li-chiang. It is 210 li from Ta-li.

I append here the Imperial decree of Hung-wu conferring on A-te the surname Mu, according to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*:

"Through the protection of God, the manifestation of the supernatural forces of the seas and mountains, and the many virtues of my ancestors, fifteen years have peacefully elapsed since my accession to the Throne, and almost all lands of the world have come within the Imperial map. But the different barbarians of the South-west, deceived by Liang Wang[29] of Yün-nan, and relying upon the altitude of their native place and the remoteness of their land from my throne, disobeyed my Imperial orders and instructions. For this reason I especially ordered Fu Yu-te, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern punitive expedition 征南將軍, and marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川; Lan Yü 藍玉, Assistant Commander-in-Chief 副將軍, and marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌侯; and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing, to lead 300,000 mail-clad soldiers — the cavalry and infantry advancing all together — to punish them for insubordination. No sooner did the Imperial army reach their land than the chief criminals were captured. As you, A-te, Native official of Li-chiang, were the first to lead his followers to submit as an example to the barbarians, your loyalty to me was clearly established.

"Moreover I appreciate your learning as expressed in the memorial submitted by you through your envoy some time ago. Thus I confer upon you the surname Mu, and order you to listen to General Fu in so far as he may propose to give you an official position, and to lead you in the accomplishing of meritorious acts in the future, so that you may gain glory for yourself.

"Be careful enough not to forget what I have said, forever.

"In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382)."

In the 16th year of the same period (1383), Fu instructed Mu Te to re-establish Li-chiang as a fu-city, and appointed him as its magistrate. In the second moon of the same year (March, 1383), he joined the army of the Southern expedition, and helped the Commander-in-Chief to conquer the village of Fu-kuang-chai 佛光寨[30] where the Junior prefect P'u Yen-tu 普顏篤, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, burned himself to death.

In the third moon (April, 1383), the great chief Pu-chieh 卜劫 of the Hsi-fan tribes 西番 intended to lead his troops to capture the region of Pai-lang-ts'ang 白浪滄[31] in the district of Li-chiang. Te ordered his eldest son, A-ch'u 阿初, to lead his own troops against them, and force them to retreat. In the eighth moon (September), Te attacked Pei-sheng fu 北勝府 and made captive its native chief, the usurping P'ing-chang 平章 (Controller), Kao

---

[29] The Liang Wang 梁王 was a descendant of the fifth son of Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. The Yüan emperors bestowed on him the title King Liang of Yün-nan. When he was pursued by the Ming forces he fled to Chin-ning chou 晉寧州 to the village of Hu-na-chai 忽納砦 where he burnt his Imperial robes and drove his wife and children into the Lake of Yün-nan (Tien Ch'ih 滇池) to die. Liang himself then jumped into the lake. After the prince's death, the senior and junior deputies Ta Ti 達的 and Lü Erh 驢兒 hanged themselves.

[30] Fu-kuang-chai is 30 li north of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 or 20 li east of Ta-li Lang-k'ung (ch'iung) hsien 大理浪穹縣, the present-day Erh-yüan 洱源.

[31] Pai-lang-ts'ang is the Na-khi Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) under Li-chiang (*vide* origin of Yeh-yeh, p. 71, note 8; p. 72).

173

Sheng-hsün 高生尋, descendant of Kao Ta-hui 高大惠.[82] Later Kao Sheng-hsün was killed by the I 彝 (Lo-lo), who offered his head to Te. Pei-sheng fu was thereafter changed into four chou-cities. Again, by joining the army of the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, and under the service of Commander Tung 董指揮, Te succeeded in capturing Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass), T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron bridge city), and many other places. His military exploits on this expedition were made known to the Emperor by a special report. In the ninth moon (September-October) Te was summoned to the Imperial court to an audience with the Emperor, and to pay tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (Hung-wu) was so pleased with his military services that he conferred on him Imperial letters patent, appointing him as hereditary T'u-kuan chih-fu 土官知府 (Hereditary native magistrate) of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and giving him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫, with orders to safely defend Shih-men Kuan, and to resist the advance of the Fan-ta 番韃 (Nomads). A complete set of official uniforms, made of coloured satin and embroidered with golden flowers, was given him; also a golden-flowered belt with four Chinese characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), engraved on the central badge, six silver ingots, and a silver medal designed with the character *Ling* 令 and weighing 20 taels.

In the 17th year of the same period (1384), Te ordered his son, A-ch'u, to attack and capture the Tao-k'ou 刀寇 (Knife brigands). He was so victorious in this expedition that the Emperor rewarded him with many silver ingots. In the 19th year (1386), A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chü-chin 巨津, rebelled against the Imperial rule by attacking Stone-gate Pass and other villages. Te and A-ch'u led their troops to join the expedition of Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, Marquis of Chi-an 吉安侯, and succeeded in capturing the villages of Stone-gate Pass, as well as the place called Meng-ku-ho 蒙古和. A-nu-ts'ung then fled with his men to the Hsi-fan. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December, 1386-January, 1387), the brigand leader returned to Chü-chin chou. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), he was captured alive, and was brought a prisoner to the headquarters of Commander-in-Chief Fu and there executed.

Te was born in the fourth year of the reign of Yüan Wu Tsung 武宗 (Chih-ta 至大) (1311), and died on the 6th day of the tenth moon of the 23rd year of Ming Hung-wu (November 11th, 1390). His wife was named A-shih-she 阿室社, daughter of Ho Lüeh-ko 和畧哥 (the Second Chronicle gives the name Ho Lüeh-k'o 可), Chao-mo 照磨 (Commissary of records) of San-pi-ts'un 三必村. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to three sons, named Ch'u 初, K'uei 虧 and Ssu 寺. His second wife, A-shih-mi 阿室彌, gave birth to one son, named Ch'i 七. His eldest son, A-ch'u, succeeded to his throne.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *A-te A-ch'u* 阿得阿初 (PLATE 18): Native magistrate of the fu-city. His official name was Mu Ch'u 木初, and he was also named Ch'i-yüan 啓元 and Shih-ch'un 始春. As the eldest son of Te, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his accession to the throne, in the 16th year of Ming Hung-wu (1383), on account of his merit in defeating Chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan, Commander-in-Chief Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, proposed to the emperor to appoint him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men. In the second tenth moon (November–December) of the 17th year of the same period (1384), the proposal was approved by the Imperial Board of Civil Office, which issued a dispatch bearing the character *Chung* 忠, No. 3, appointing him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men, together with the additional duty of Leader of 100 families, as a test. In the eleventh moon (December, 1384–January, 1385) he entered on his duties.

---

[82] Kao Ta-hui was governor of the commandery Shan-chü 善巨郡 which was the later Pei-sheng and the present Yung-sheng 永勝.

In the twelfth moon (January, 1385), the native magistrate of Pao-shan chou 寶山州 became recalcitrant. Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station, and settled the trouble by means of skilful strategem, capturing many stockaded villages in the mountains of that district, and restoring the people to their peaceful pursuits. Later in the same year, La-mi-ju-chi 剌密如吉, the native magistrate, again occupied the mountain districts, starting a new rebellion. Ch'u led his troops thither to attack them and the aforesaid districts were again recovered. The captives taken and the brigands killed in that fight numbered more than 20. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), Yang-nu 楊奴, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, and others were guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u hastened there with government troops to punish them, and made them all prisoners. In the eighth moon (September–October) of the same year, the usurping Commander-in-Chief, Pao-chu 保朱[33] of Chien-ch'uan, was also guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u proceeded with the Military governor Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 of Ta-li military station, succeeded in capturing Pao-chu, and then put him to death.

In the third moon of the 21st year of Hung-wu (April, 1388), Ch'u led his native troops to join the army of the Commander-in-Chief Mu Chao-ching Ying 沐昭靖英,[34] Prince of Ch'ien-ning 黔寧王 and Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, and attacked the two cities of Ching-tung 景東[35] and Ting-pien hsien 定邊縣.[36] He then captured these two cities, killed the powerful leaders of the Po-i savages 伯夷蠻,[37] took and executed many prisoners, such as Tao Ssu-lang 刀斯浪, etc.

In the 24th year of Hung-wu (1391), Ch'u received an official dispatch bearing the character *Ting* 定, No. 504, from the office of the Military governor

---

[33] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the name is written Chu-pao 朱保. He usurped the rank of Yüan-shuai 元帥.

[34] This is the Mu Ying who was given the posthumous title of King of Ch'ien-ning and the appellation of Chao-ching 昭靖 (Glorious and peaceful). As the titles given were retroactive they are used here as if he bore them while alive.

[35] Ching-tung is a town on the Black River the upper part of which is known as the Chung-ch'uan Ho (*q.v.*), 10 stages south of Hsia-kuan and Ta-li, in south central Yün-nan.

[36] Ting-pien hsien is south of Meng-hua 蒙化 and is the present Nan-chien 南澗. It is situated at the confluence of the Meng-hua and Nan-chien Streams, the Meng-hua Ho 蒙化河 being the Red River. Nan-chien is really situated on the north bank of the Nan-chien Ho. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of the P'u-lo-man 樸落蠻.

[37] The Pa-i, Shan or Tai, who inhabit southern Yün-nan, are meant here.

173

of the Right army 右軍都督, informing him that his hereditary right had been confirmed and duly approved by the Emperor. On the 18th day of the fifth moon (June 20th) he assumed his official position, succeeding his father. In the eleventh moon (November–December), he went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the second moon of the 25th year of the same period (February 23rd–March 23rd, 1392), he was given Imperial letters patent bearing the character *Chia* 甲, No. 697, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy. He was then rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts and sent back in honor.

In the ninth moon (September 17th–October 16th) of the same year, by serving under the Military governor Feng Ch'eng 馮誠, he captured Yung-ning chou 永寧州[38] and took by storm Pai-chiao 白交[39] and other villages adjacent to the border of Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖.[40] He then forced the brigands to retreat, captured their leader, Pu-pa-ju-chia 卜八如甲, and forced the headman La-t'a 剌塔 of the village of Shui-chai 水寨 to submit with his people. In the 26th year of the same period (1393), Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 of the La-ma family 剌馬氏,[41] native magistrate of the Salt-well Sub-military station of Tso-so 左所 in Ssu-ch'uan, conspired to start a rebellion. Ch'u and the Military Governor Ho Fu 何福,[42] Marquis of Ning-yüan 寧遠侯, were both in reserve to help the government troops. In the first moon of the 27th year of the same period (February, 1394), the rebel Chia-ha-la of Tso-so invaded the two cities of Pei-sheng and Lang-ch'ü. Ch'u helped Mu Ch'un 沐春,[43] Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, by leading his troops thither, and recovered these two cities. They then established the Lan-ts'ang military

---

[38] Yung-ning is the present semi-independent magistracy north-east of Li-chiang and the Yangtze.

[39] Pai-chiao is the present Pai-chiao pa 白交壩, or Pai-chio pa 白角壩, which adjoins Yung-ning territory.

[40] Lang-ch'ü chou is south of Yung-ning and west of the Wo-lo Ho (River) about half-way between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei 永北). It is the Ning-lang 寧蒗 of to-day; *see* Chap. VII, p. 429.

[41] La is the family name of the present ruling T'u-ssu 土司 (chief) of the Tso-so 左所 country east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan. The La family is of the Mo-so tribe but most of its subjects are Lo-lo. Tso-so land is separated from Yung-ning territory partly by the Yung-ning Lake, known to the Na-khi as La-t'a Khü. The main village of Tso-so, where the chief's yamen is situated, is called To-shi (To-she-chai 多舍寨). La-t'a was a native of Tso-so territory and its headman. He had a son called La-ma-fei 剌馬非 who paid tribute, whereupon he was given the title of Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶 (Assistant chiliarch). According to the *Ming-Shih* Chia-ha-la's territory was Po-hsing 柏興, the present Yen-yüan hsien; he was the native chief of the Mo-so tung or cave (dwelling) Mo-so. (*See* also Part VI, Ch. II. 6, Tso-so, page 463.)

[42] Ho Fu was a native of Feng-yang 鳳陽 in An-hui. He came, together with Fu Yu-te, to attack Yün-nan.

[43] He was the son of Mu Ying who died in the 25th year of Hung-wu, the sixth moon and *ting-mao* 丁卯 day (July 7th, 1392). Mu Ch'un 沐春 inherited the rank of Chen-shou 鎮守 (Guardian) of Yün-nan. (*Chen-shou* was the title of a Tartar General). He ruled the *Chen* (Principality) for seven years and died at the age of 36.

173 station 瀾滄衛 for the purposes of defence In the same year, Ch'u joined the military expedition of the Military governor Ch'ü Neng 瞿能, and succeeded in pacifying the rebels. Later he transported military provisions to the Salt-well military station.[44] In the eleventh moon (December) of the same year, Pa-t'a-kan 八塔干, Ho-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-headman)[45] of Lan chou 蘭州, became recalcitrant and unruly. Ch'u led his own troops to fight him; he captured and killed more than 100 brigands, and restored the tribes to their peaceful pursuits.

In the ninth moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu (September 22nd–October 20th, 1397), Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station to attack Ko-shih 革石,[46] A-nao-wa 阿惱瓦, and a few other villages. They captured the rebel bandits and made the pretending P'ing-chang 平章, Chia-ha-la, prisoner. In the eleventh moon (November–December), there was newly established the Government of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang, to which an official seal, character *I* 以, No. 87, was issued by the Imperial court. This government was intended by the Imperial order to safeguard the village of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, to check the advance of the Hsi-fan, to arrange all things to fit the circumstances, and to embody all matters in one unit, in order that national prestige might be enhanced. In the ninth moon of the 31st year of the same period (October, 1398), Ch'u helped the Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'un 沐春, General of punitive expeditions, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, to attack the Po-i 伯夷. They besieged the city of Lu-ch'uan 麓川,[47] and made the brigand leader Tao-kan-meng 刀幹孟 prisoner [a native chief of Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien 平緬 who had rebelled and ousted Ssu-lün-fa 思倫發, the Hsüan-wei-shih of Lu-ch'uan. His territory was in P'iao-t'an 驃賧 (name for the eastern part of Burma)]. When he returned from this expedition, he was given many silver ingots and other rich gifts by the provincial authorities. In the 35th year of the same period (1402)[48] he sent his eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor, who gave him also many silver ingots and sent him back honored.

In the second year of Ming Yung-lo (1404) Ch'u led his troops to Chü-chin chou 巨津州 and relieved A-chi 阿敍, native magistrate of that city, from the siege of the Hsi-fan brigands, whose chief, A-niang-yün 阿娘勻, was forced to retreat with his men. Many other officials and people who had been taken captive by these brigands were thus released. In the fourth moon of the third year of the same period (May, 1405), he ordered his brother, A-ssu 阿寺,[49] to accompany the Imperial messenger and Eunuch Yang Lin 欽差內官楊琳, together with the pacified Hsi-fan representatives, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor. In the tenth moon (October–November) he himself prepared presents consisting of horses and native products, and went with some of his subordinates to the capital to pay tribute. His Majesty gave him many silver ingots and sent him back much honored. In the fifth moon of the fourth year of the same period (May–June, 1406), he received a dispatch from Commander-in-Chief Mu 沐, instructing him to accompany Chu Ch'eng 朱稱 the Chih-hui-shih 指揮使 of the Chen-fu-ssu 鎮撫司 of Chin-i wei 錦衣衛 (the military station of Chin-i) to the land of the Hsi-fan, to establish two An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification officers) in the *tao* 道 of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, the Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場, and the Chang-kuan-ssu of Ni-na[50] for the purpose of urging the I-fan (Wild tribes) to go and pay tribute to the Imperial court, news of which was reported to the Emperor on Ch'u's behalf. He was then given Imperial dispatches instructing him to safeguard the land. The Emperor also conferred upon him a golden shield with an inscription of four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), in reward for his military exploits in Chü-chin 巨津, Lin-hsi 臨西, Mao-niu-chai 毛牛寨, Pao-shan chou 寶山州, Lan chou 蘭州, the Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江 (Mekong), etc.

---

[44] Yen-ching wei 鹽井衛 (Salt-well military station) corresponds to the sub-prefecture of Yen-yüan 鹽源, which in turn is dependent on the prefecture of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan) in Ssu-ch'uan.

[45] A *Ho-t'ou* is a small village official, lower than a headman. The name *ho-t'ou*, which actually means a scullion, has also reference to his entertaining any official who may come to the village.

[46] The name of the village is Ko-shih, not Tsin-ko-che as CHAVANNES gives the name in the translation of the Second Chronicle. The word *tsin* (*chin* 進) here means to advance (they advanced on Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Na-khi A-na-wùa). These villages are in Tso-so and Mu-li 木裏 territories respectively.

[47] Lu-ch'uan is the present-day Lung-ch'uan 隴川, 140 li south-west of T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝. It is called Mong-wan in Shan, and is situated on the Nam-wan River; in Chinese its name is Nan-wan Ho 南宛河. According to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 498, fol. 2b, Lung-ch'uan belonged to Burma during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619), and later reverted to China. The Pai-man 白蠻 (Pa-i or Shan) dwell there.

[48] This should read the fourth year of Chien-wen 建文 of Hui Ti 惠帝 (1402), for T'ai Tsu (Hung-wu) died on the 24 of June, 1398.

In the fifth year of Ming Yung-lo (1407) His Majesty conferred on Ch'u the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 中憲大夫 (Minister of the principal fourth rank) and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy, by an Imperial order, containing dispatches: *I* 義, No. 76, and *Chia* 甲, No. 809. In the tenth moon (November) of the same year, Ch'u ordered his eldest son, A-t'u, to search for a golden shield in the household of A-chi 阿吉, a native official and An-fu-ssu, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, and forward it directly to the Yünnan Provincial Treasurer.

In the fifth moon of the eighth year of the same period (June, 1410), he went himself to Pao-shan chou 寶山州, and to the villages of Pai-ti 白的[51] and Yüan-shih-wa 元始瓦 and many other places, and succeeded in persuading the village headman, A-yung-mu 阿容目, to furnish a number of laborers each year to serve the government, commencing from that year. He then sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court; the Emperor gave him an Imperial receipt, and sent them back with many gifts and highly honored. In the fourth moon of the 10th year of the same period (May–June, 1412), he prepared tribute consisting of horses and many native products, and requested his official secretary,

---

[49] He was Ch'u's second younger brother and was called Mu Sheng 木生.

[50] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na and the Tibetan Ni-nag — the district of Wei-hsi 維西, northwest of Li-chiang and east of the Mekong.

[51] The Chinese Pai-ti is the Na-khi district of Bbĕr-ddĕr west of the Yangtze loop; BACOT's Be-djri should read Mbe-ddü, "Village large," or large village; one of the eight villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr is meant. (*See*: p. 262.)

A-t'a 阿他, to offer them to the Emperor, who conferred on Ch'u's father, A-te 阿得, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, on his mother the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen 太恭人, and on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the respective Imperial orders. *Chia* 甲, No. 997; *Chia* 甲, No. 998; and *Chia* 甲, No. 999. When these orders were delivered to their official residence, they all expressed their hearty thanks, kneeling down in the direction of the Imperial throne.

Meanwhile, on account of his military merit gained by helping Mu Ch'un in his expedition to settle the affairs of the cities of Ching-tung 景東, Yung-ning 永寧 and Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, etc., and by helping the Military governor Ho Ch'ü 何瞿 in his expedition to attack the Salt-well military station of Ssu-ch'uan, and to capture the rebels La-ma-jen-tsu 剌馬仁祖 and Chia-ha-la alive, after taking the villages of Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Emperor issued him a decree *I* 乙, No. 110, promoting him one rank higher, and conferring on him a golden girdle with the four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), together with many other gifts listed in detail in the book of the Hereditary rights of the Mu family [the *Huang-Ming En-lun-lu*]. In the 14th year of the same period (1416), after he had been promoted in rank by the Emperor's special grace, he was permitted to retire, and transferred his official seal to his heir, Mu T'u 木土, to preserve the hereditary right.

Ch'u was born in the fifth year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1345) and died in the twelfth moon of the first year of Ming Hung-hsi (January, 1426). His wife was named A-shih A-mu-hsiang 阿室阿木相 (her official name was A-shih-sa 阿室撒), daughter of A-mu 阿木 (Mu-hsien 木仙), who was native leader of 1,000 households of T'ung-an chou. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named T'u 土, Niang 娘, Chi 戟, Chia 迦, Chün 均, Hsing 興 and Hui 惠.

His second wife was named A-shih-lo 阿室羅, daughter of the Chang-kuan-ssu of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場. She gave birth to one son, named Mu 目. His third wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里. She gave birth to one son, named Pao 保. His fourth wife was named A-shih-yang 阿室羊. She gave birth to two sons, named Tu 都 and Hsi 喜.

His eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1440), the Emperor conferred on Ch'u, on account of the military merit of his grandson, two more posthumous honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 767, and on his wife, A-shih-sa, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen 淑人 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 768.

NINTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'u A-t'u* 阿初阿土 (PLATE 19): His official name was Mu T'u 木土; he was also named Yang-min 養民 (Yü-min 育民). As the eldest son of Ch'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 17th year of Yung-lo (1419) he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute. He lodged at the Board of Civil Office. In the tenth moon (October–November) of the same year, the aforesaid Board applied for him to the Emperor, who sanctioned his hereditary right in due time, and presented him with many silver ingots and satin garments and sent him back highly honored. He also received Imperial letters patent *Wen* 文, No. 5708, whereupon he assumed his official duties in the first moon (January 15th–February 13th) of the 18th year of the same period (1420). In the following year (1421), His Majesty, yielding to popular opinion, conferred on him Imperial letters patent, stating that thereafter he was only to be ordered to proclaim the Imperial will, but not to be transferred on any occasion. In the 21st year of the same period (1423), he ordered his official secretary, Mu Mi 木彌, and the sergeant Yang Chung-li 楊仲禮 and many others to pay tribute at the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for (new) letters patent. He was then given the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 115. On his wife, A-hu 阿護, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 116.

In the third year of Ming Hsüan-te (1428), owing to the frequent inroads by A-k'uei-chang 阿魁丈 at Shih-men Kuan (Stone-gate Pass), T'u led his men to attack and capture him. The country was then taken, and many new roads and ferries were built by him to facilitate communications. In the first moon (January 21st–February 19th) of the eighth year of the same period (1433), he assembled his troops, and in the second moon (February 20th–March 20th) captured the village of Lüeh-shao 掠峭, which then acknowledged its allegiance. Again, in the third moon (March 21st–April 19th), the Yung-ning Fan brigands 番賊 carried off magistrate A-jih 阿日 of Pao-shan chou 寶山州. T'u led his troops himself, and recovered him from the hands of the brigands through many stratagems.

T'u was born in the 24th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝 (Chih-cheng 至正) (1364), and died on the 24th day of the fourth moon in the 8th year of Ming Hsüan-te (May 13th, 1433). His wife was named A-shih-fu 阿室甫 (her official name was Kao Shih-hu 高氏護), daughter of Kao Chung 高仲, native magistrate of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.[52] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named Ti 地, Chung 仲, I 義, Ch'ang 昌, Shu 恕 Chü 直 and Hui 揮. His eldest son, A-ti, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung (1440), on account of the military merit of his son A-ti, the Emperor conferred on T'u the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial order *Wu* 戊, No. 769 and *Wu* 戊, No. 770, respectively.

While T'u was still living, he published a proclamation to the district of Pai-sha li 白沙里, forbidding the officials to graze their cattle on the people's crops. Once cattle belonging to officials were eating the peasants' crops. Those who witnessed this wondered why the officials did not remove their cattle. T'u learned of this, and immediately ordered the buffaloes or cows to be killed and offered as a solemn sacrifice in the Pei-yo Temple 北嶽神祠 (*see* Sa-ddo *or* Pei-yo). The whole of the beef was divided among the people for food. Thus all his subjects were made obedient to his laws and regulations. Henceforth, it became their custom every year to make contributions to the Pai-yo Temple out of the sales of their cattle, for the purpose of offering regularly a similar sacrifice.

---

[52] Ho-ch'ing, a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang, formerly belonged to the Li-chiang district under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs. Its inhabitants are mostly Lă-bbu (Min-chia

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 TENTH GENERATION. — *A-t'u A-ti* 阿土阿地 (PLATE 20): His official name was Mu Shen 木森. He was also named Sheng-jung 升榮 and Ta-lin 大林. As the eldest son of T'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the ninth year of Ming Hsüan-te (1434) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed by the Imperial decree *Wen* 文, No. 154, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 13th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 17th, 1434), he assumed his official duties. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), he led his troops with Commander-in-Chief Mu Chung 沐忠 (Mu Ching-sheng 沐敬晟),[53] Prince of Ting-yüan 定遠王, to settle the trouble at Lu-ch'uan 麓川 caused by Burmese brigands. During the expedition, the armies from the various sections of the country were anything but brave, and many deserted, except the Li-chiang troops who proved their valor by first venturing across the river and then burning seven of the enemy's camps, capturing one leader alive, and chopping off 16 heads. They captured two elephants, and decapitated 24 prisoners in another lot. Ti was thereupon rewarded by the Imperial court with a silver bowl, a flower-design shield, many pieces of silk and satin, etc.

In the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1439), he again joined the government troops and decapitated 20 of the enemy. This time he was similarly rewarded, and, in addition, Mu Chung, Prince of Ting-yüan of the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou government, gave him a farmstead in the village of Sha-ch'iao 沙橋.[54] In the fifth moon of the fifth year of the same period (June, 1440), on account of his merit gained by conquering Lu-ch'uan, the General historiographer Wang Chung-i kung-i 王忠毅公驥,[55] Marquis of Ching-yüan 靖遠侯, made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then rewarded him with several pieces of colored satin and many other gifts.

In the ninth moon (October 26th–November 25th), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and requested some of his servants to offer them as tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for an Imperial patent. After certain investigations were made by the Board about his merit, the Emperor granted his request, and gave him the letters patent *Wu* 戊, No. 771, conferring on him the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu, Tzu-chih-shao-yin 資治少尹 (Assistant junior intendant of a circuit), and Yün-nan Pu-cheng-shih-ssu Ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司參政 (Counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer). His ancestors, two generations before him, received various posthumous honors from the Emperor. He assumed his official duties in the capital of Yün-nan. Although he had returned to his native place,

---

民家) tribespeople, only a few Na-khi being among its population. It is not 350 li southeast of Li-chiang as CHAVANNES states without giving his source of information.

[53] The title *Chung-ching* 忠敬 was a posthumous one. After returning with his troops from Lu-ch'uan to Ch'u-hsiung he died in 1439. Of the Mu 沐 family, 16 generations ruled in Yün-nan, the first one being Mu Ying 沐英. They were military governors of Yün-nan and ruled that province like a feudal fief.

[54] Sha-ch'iao is eight stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road, and a distance of 575 li from the provincial capital.

[55] His name was Wang I 王驥 and his appellation Shang-te 尚德. He was a native of Shu-lu 束鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Chih-li. He was of tall stature and imposing appearance. He died at the age of 83. The title *Chung-i* 忠毅 was a posthumous one.

173 his official seat was reserved in the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer. On his wife, A-shih-li 阿室里, was conferred by separate Imperial letters patent, *Wu* 戊, No. 772, the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the same year, the office of Governor of Yün-nan was first established, and was filled by the Yün-nan Tu-yü-shih 雲南都御史丁 (Imperial grand censor) Ting who wrote an inscription for him in praise of his past merit and to encourage him in future service. In the sixth year of the same period (1441), he led his troops to assist Commander-in-Chief Wang Chung-i kung-i, Marquis of Ching-yüan, on his expedition against Lu-ch'uan. Ti gained considerable merit by taking 16 prisoners, capturing one elephant, and attacking Ssu-jen-fa 思任發,[56] headman of the village of Cha (chai) 柵寨.

He was born in the 34th year of Hung-wu (1401),[57] and died in the twelfth moon of the 6th year of the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (January 12th–February 10th, 1442). His wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里, and was the daughter of A-su 阿俗, Hsün-chien 巡檢 (Sub-district deputy magistrate) of Mu-pao 木保.[58] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named Hsi 習, Na 那 and T'a 他. His second wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, gave birth to one son, named Jih 日. His third wife gave birth to one son, named A-nü 阿女.

A-hsi succeeded his father.

ELEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-ti A-hsi* 阿地阿習 (PLATE 21): His official name was Mu Ch'in 木嶔. He was also named Wei-kao 惟高 and Chün-ch'iao 峻喬. As the eldest son of Ti, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the seventh year of Cheng-t'ung (1442) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed, and he received official letters patent issued by the Imperial court through the office of the Yün-nan Viceroy 總督, Wang 王, Grand historiographer of the Board of military affairs and Ta-li ssu-ch'ing 大理寺卿, Director of the Grand Court of Revision. On the 10th day of the third moon of the same year (April 20th, 1442), Hsi assumed his official duties. In the second year of Ching-t'ai (1451), when the Hsi-fan brigands 西番 invaded Chü-chin chou 巨津州, he personally led his troops against them. On this expedition he decapitated 42 brigands and took 26 prisoners.

In the sixth moon of the 3rd year of the same period (June 17th–July 16th, 1452), Lo Wen-k'ai 羅文凱, hereditary magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, was murdered by brigands. Hsi was instructed by the government to devise plans to capture them. He succeeded in taking ten of them prisoner, including their leader Lo-hao 羅好.

A-yung-t'a 阿容他, leader of another group of brigands, led over 300 men to plunder the people. Hsi took his own troops to attack them and captured 18 brigands, including their leader Ho-cha 和札; at another time he took 12 prisoners. In the sixth year (1455), Pao-shan chou, Pai-ti, and a few other places were looted by the Fan brigands under the command of their leader Tao-jih-pu-t'a 刀日卜他 and his son A-su 阿俗. Hsi personally led his troops and made four prisoners, killing eight other brigands. Thus A-su surrendered, and Hsi arranged to find him and his men a place to live in. In the second year of T'ien-shun (1458), Yen-chung-chang 鹽仲丈, chief of the Hsi-fan brigands, cruelly plundered some of the frontier districts, whither Hsi sent his troops to pursue them. Five brigands were killed, and four were made prisoners. In the fourth year (1460), A-su again occupied Pao-shan chou with his men. Hsi sent his troops thither and killed 23 of his remaining followers. In the same year, Hsi sent men to pay tribute to the Emperor, and in the following year, the latter conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, by Imperial letters patent *Hsin* 信, No. 23. On his wife, Kao-shih-shan 高氏善, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen.

---

[56] Ssu-jen-fa was the native chief of Lu-ch'uan who had revolted. After the attack on Lu-ch'uan, he escaped. Cha-chai was his stockaded village.

[57] This should read the third year of Chien-wen (1401), as Hung-wu's reign ended with his 31st year.

[58] Mu-pao li is a commune consisting of several villages about 20 li south-west of Li-chiang. The leading village is Muan-shwua-wùa.

In the sixth year of T'ien-shun (1462), he conquered the villages of La-pao 剌寶,[59] Lu-p'u-wa-chai 魯普瓦寨, Shu-lo 鼠羅,[60] Ni-lo 你羅 and Chan-p'u-wa 占普瓦. In the eighth year (1464), he conquered the villages of Shu-lo 鼠羅, La-lo 剌羅, Ai-na-wa 岩那瓦, Li-feng 里俸, Chien-neng-wa 見能瓦 and Mei-shih-wa 梅矢瓦.

In the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua (1468), he conquered the villages of Ni-na 你那,[61] Mu-lai-ko 母來各, Tang-wa 當瓦, Pen-tu-wa 本都瓦 and Ai-tien 岩甸. In the sixth year (1470), he conquered the villages of Ni-na, Wei-hsi, Hsia-chieh 下接, Chü-chia-wa 具加瓦, Hsiang-pi-wa 相必瓦, La-mu-wa 剌木瓦 and La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場. In the 18th year (1482), he conquered the villages of Chao-k'o 照可, Ch'i-tsung 其宗,[62] La-p'u 剌普,[63] Chün-li-ch'ang 均里場, Ch'i-li-ch'ü-ting 其立佉丁, etc. In the 19th year (1483), he conquered the villages of Chung-tien 忠甸 and Tsao-wa 早瓦. In the 20th year (1484), the villages of Chung-tien and Tsan-lo 僧羅 surrendered of their own accord.

---

[59] La-pao is identical with the ancient Pao-shan, three stages north of Li-chiang. Lu-p'u-wa-chai (stockaded village of Lu-p'u-wa), is the Na-khi (Lv) Lu-p'ĕr-wùa to the north of La-bpu mbu, a peak overlooking the Yangtze (*which see*). *Wùa* is a Na-khi term for a group of houses or hamlet, the Chinese *wa* 瓦 is its phonetic equivalent.

[60] Shu-lo is the name of a region and village which the Hsi-fan call Shen-dzong; it is in Mu-li territory, in south-west Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang). An iron chain bridge once spanned the Shu Gyi (Iron River) at that particular spot; the name Shen-dzong means "iron bridge" in Hsi-fan. The river is called Zho Chhu in Hsi-fan (KINGDON WARD calls it Shu-lo Ho [*Shu-lo* is Na-khi for "iron valley" and *ho* is the Chinese for river] and HANDEL-MAZZETTI, Dou tschu). This latter is a misnomer, he apparently confounds it with the Tong Chhu, an affluent of the Zho Chhu which has its source in the Kung-ka-ling 貢嘎嶺 (Mt. Jambyang [hJam-dbyangs]) peaks. The Zho Chhu has its source at Na-wu (called Nabu by MAJOR DAVIES), 10 days to the north of Shen-dzong, and not in the Kung-ka-ling peaks, as heretofore believed.

The valley of the central Zho Chhu is inhabited by a tribe called the Shu-khin (Iron people), named after the river; they speak a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan. They are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs — like the inhabitants of the village of O-yü on the same river further south, who, however, still speak pure Na-khi.

The lower stretch of the Zho Chhu is inhabited by a related tribe called the Zhĕr-khin — see my article on the Zhĕr-khin tribe in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. III, 1938; pp. 171–188.

[61] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na, or the Chinese prefectural city of Wei-hsi. The other names apparently are those of villages in Nyi-na (Wei-hsi) district.

[62-63] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u are two villages, called in Na-khi Gyi-dzu and La-p'o; the former is situated on the west bank of the Yangtze at the confluence of the La-p'u Ho, which has its source north of the Li-ti-p'ing — the Yangtze-Mekong divide. La-p'o is situated on the south bank of the stream, about 20 li from Ch'i-tsung.

Hsi was born in the fourth year of Hsüan-te, *chi-yu* 己酉 (1429), and died on the 24th day of the eighth moon in the 21st year of Ming Ch'eng-hua (October 2nd, 1485). His wife was named A-shih-shun 阿室順, and her official name was Kuan-yin-shan 觀音善, daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of Ho-ch'ing. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named Ya 牙, Ti 的, Chu 住 and Pao 寶. His second wife, Kuan-yin-fu-cheng 觀音福珍, daughter of the Kao family, gave birth to two sons, named Tz'u 東 and Su 俗. His third wife, A-shih-niang 阿室娘, daughter of the Sub-district deputy magistrate of Mu-pao 木保, gave birth to five sons, named Chi 吉, Sha 沙, Lu 祿, T'a 他 and Chien 見. His fourth wife, A-shih-kuei 阿室桂, daughter of the Yang family 楊氏 of Shun-t'ang 順盪, gave birth to two sons, named Lo 樂 and Ti 的. In all he had 13 sons. His eldest son, A-ya, succeeded him.

TWELFTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-ya* 阿習阿牙 (PLATE 22): His official name was Mu T'ai 木泰. He was also named Pen-an 本安 and Kai-sheng 介聖. As the eldest son of Mu Ch'in, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 21st year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) A-chia-nan-pa 阿加南八, leader of the Fan brigands, invaded Pai-tien 白甸[64] and many other villages, whither Ya personally led his troops in pursuit; he decapitated five brigands and defeated the rest. In the 22nd year of the same period (1486), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered the village of Chü-kung 苴公 in Shu-lo.

In the 23rd year (1487), the brigands returned with stronger forces. Ya rearranged his troops, and terrible fighting took place in the mountains near the mouth of the Ha-pa Chiang 哈巴江 (Ha-pa River).[65] He decapitated fifteen of the brigands, and took six prisoners. Taking advantage of his victory, he pursued them to the village of K'o-tsung 可琮, where they intended to offer resistance, but he again defeated them and decapitated 72, holding 18 prisoners for trial. Afterwards, the brigands, who hid in the village of Wu-ya 吾牙, scattered out of fear, and those who had been captured by the brigands, were all again restored to their daily pursuits. The two chief officials of Yün-nan, the Provincial Treasurer and the Brigadier-General, gave him many rolls of satin and a flower-design shield as a reward for his meritorious achievements on that expedition.

In the same year, Ya conquered the village of Yü-yang 于楊 in Shu-lo,

---

[64] Pai-tien is a small town or village south-west of Wei-hsi on the west bank of the Mekong, but situated along the foot-hills. The crest of the range, which here forms the divide between the Mekong and Salween, is, on British maps, the Yün-nan and Burma border, but on the Chinese military map of 1928 the border not only includes the Salween valley but also the Ch'iu Chiang 俅江 (eastern branch of the Irrawadi), the latter is correct.

[65] This river descends from Ha-pa Shan (Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshĕr-nv-lv) in Chung-tien 中甸 territory, and flows through the land of a native chief who bears the title of Pa-tsung 把總. His territory is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba and in Chinese Ha-pa. The stream flows through a broad valley past several villages into the Yangtze, but near its confluence is confined in a deep rocky gorge.

173 while the village of Pieh-tien 別甸 surrendered of its own accord. In the 24th year (1488) (actually first year of Hung-chih) he included the latter village in Shu-lo territory.

In the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ya conquered the village of Chia-jih 加日 in Chao-k'o 照可, and captured the lower part of Shih-t'ou-k'an 石頭坎 in the same district. In the third year (1490), A-chia-nan-li 阿加南立, leader of the Fan brigands, ruthlessly plundered many villages of the district of Chü-chin 巨津, whither Ya personally led his troops, attacking him three times. He took 89 prisoners, while many brigands drowned themselves in the river. He then conquered the villages of Pa-lo 巴羅, and Ngai-(Yen-)wa 岩瓦 in Ni-na (Wei-hsi district). In the fourth year (1491), he conquered the villages of T'o-san 托散 and Ch'ü-yü 佉玉 of Chung-tien as well as Chün-chi-yü 均集玉.

In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Ya had received official letters patent *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 888, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and on the 2nd day of the second first moon of the same year (February 14th, 1488), he assumed his official duties. In the fifth year (1492), he conquered the villages of K'ung-li-yü 空立玉 in Chung-tien, while Chien-sha-ko 見沙各 and the village of T'o-ch'i-lo 托其羅 in Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the sixth year (1493), he conquered the village of Sheng-hou-yü 生後玉 in Chung-tien. In the same year, Chü-te 具得, leader of the Hsi fan brigands, caused trouble in the neighborhood of the village of Lang-o 浪峨[66] of the city of Pei-sheng chou 北勝州 by secretly conspiring against the government with the wild Fan 野番 brigands, whose abode was on the borders of Ssu-ch'uan. Ya was instructed by the three chief officials of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops to settle that affair. On his arrival, he devised many plans, and at last succeeded in enticing 35 of the Hsi-fan brigands and Kan-t'ieh 干鐵, their leader, to come out of their retreat. He thereupon took them prisoner, and at the same time sent his troops to pursue the rest. Later, three of the above-mentioned prisoners committed murder, and they were compelled to pay an indemnity in accordance with the usual custom. The money thus obtained was used to pay the plundered soldiers and people. Ya then took hand-prints of the aforesaid Fan brigands, and had them carved on wooden blocks for preservation in his office. This case was reported to the two chief officials, the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer and Brigadier-General; the Imperial Eunuchs gave him many presents of colored satin, a flower-design shield, and many silver ingots. A special official was ordered to send all these things, and he received them. Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, Mu Tsung 沐琮,[67] General of the Southern expedition 征南將軍, Imperial tutor, Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國公 and Duke of Wu-hsi 武僖公, reported on his behalf to the Emperor, who then gave him all the land pertaining to the village of Sha-lan 沙蘭村, near the city of Pei-sheng chou (the present Yung-sheng). Henceforth that village was to be called by the new name of Feng-ti-chuang 奉地庄 (Feng-ti farm), and was to be

---

[66] Lang-o is south-east of Yung-pei 永北 (Yung-sheng), near a little lake called Ts'ao Hai 草海 (Grass Lake); it is directly west of the small town Jen-li 仁里, which is situated on the west bank of a small stream called I-ch'a Ho 夷茶河 which flows into the Yangtze.

[67] He was the son of Mu Pin 沐斌, the grandson of Mu Sheng, and the great-grandson of Mu Ying 沐英, who all had governed Yün-nan.

113

handed down to his descendants for ever. In the same year, Ya conquered the following villages of Chung-tien: Ch'ieh-tsan 伽僭, Hsi-li-ch'ü 西里佉, Ta-tang 大當 and Hsiang-ko 香各.

In the ninth year (1496), he conquered the village of Nien-yü 年玉 of Chung-tien, and established the village of Ai-na-wa. In the 10th year (1497), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor gave him many silver ingots together with many other gifts, and conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his wife, A-shih-kuei 阿氏貴, the honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial decree *Yin* 寅, No. 18.

In the 11th year (1498), Ya conquered the villages of Wa-jih-wa 瓦日瓦 of Chung-tien, and Hsi-li-wa 西里瓦, and La-chia-wa 剌甲瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 12th year (1499), he conquered Chung-tien, and established the villages of Ta-nien-yü-wa 大年玉瓦, and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Feng-lu-wa 俸魯瓦 of Ni-na, Ku-p'u-wa 古普瓦 of Shu-lo, Pu-wa 卜瓦, P'ing-k'ou-tien 平口甸, Mu-jo-tien 母若甸, Chia-san-yen-wa 加散岩瓦 and Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦. In the 13th year (1500), he conquered the villages of Mi-la-yen-wa 迷剌岩瓦 and Ch'ü-na-wa 佉納瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 14th year (1501), he conquered the villages of Li-yao-ko 立堯各 of Ni-na, and Yü-la 玉剌. In the same year, the brigands of Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the 15th year (1502), he conquered the villages of Hui-ch'ü 揮佉 of Chung-tien, La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦, Shou-li-wa 手立瓦, and T'o-p'u-wa 托普瓦 of Ni-na.

Ya was born on the 15th day of the sixth moon of the 6th year of Ching-t'ai (July 29th, 1455), and died on the 21st day of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of Hung-chih (December 20th, 1502). His wife was named A-shih-chüan 阿室卷, and her official name was A-shih Shan-kuei 阿室善貴. She was the daughter of magistrate A 阿 of the chou-city of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川.[68] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named A-ch'iu 阿秋, A-chung 阿鍾, A-yü 阿于 and A-lien 阿連. The eldest son, A-ch'iu, succeeded to his father's throne.

For reference, it is said that Mai Tsung 麥琮, one of the ancestors of the Mu family, once accepted an invitation of the King of Ta-li. On his way home, he felt that he had lost his spiritual power. He then went to the Yü-lung Shan, intending to drink some of the spiritual water out of the stone basin (*see* p. 92), but searching everywhere, he could not find it. For a moment he happened to take a rest under a rock. He unconsciously planted his bamboo staff into the ground. Suddenly he found that the earth was becoming softer and softer, while the bamboo staff had grown 11 joints taller than it had been before. In a little while branches and leaves sprouted luxuriantly. He then began to understand and said: "I have not yet lost my spiritual power, but I must have committed a sin. Eleven generations later, I shall be reborn to accomplish my destinies." A few days afterwards he died.

Counting from the time of Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 (Mai Tsung) to A-hsi A-ya (Pen-an) exactly eleven generations have passed. Ya was born a genius.

---

[68] Teng-ch'uan is one stage north of Ta-li, a distance of 90 li.

Without being taught by anybody, he could read the pictographs of the Nakhi language invented by his ancestor Mai Tsung. In addition, he did much to cause our Mu family to prosper by following the virtuous examples of his ancestors. Ya was probably Mai Tsung reborn, and the prophecy made by Tsung in his life was perhaps true. I think this is what Buddha said about "the theory of cause and effect," and about "the theory of transmigration of a man's three lives."

THIRTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ya A-ch'iu* 阿牙阿秋 (PLATE 23): His official name was Mu Ting 木定. He was also named Ching-chih 靜之. As the eldest son of Mu T'ai 木泰, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 16th year of Hung-chih (1503) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the 17th year (1504), he received his Official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1107, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and in the fifth moon and the 13th day of the same year (June 24th, 1504), he took up the duties of his office. In the third year of Cheng-te (1508), he conquered the villages of Ts'ung-chung 從仲 and T'ien-lung 天龍 of Ni-na. In the fourth year (1509), he conquered Ni-na, A-te-chiu 阿得會 and other places. In the fifth year (1510), he sent horses and native products to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu [the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* says Chang-shun ta-fu] and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his deceased wife, Kao-shih-hsiang 高氏香, the honorary posthumous title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Kao-shih 高氏, also the honorary title of Kung-jen by Imperial decree, *Chih* 智, No. 908.

In the same year, the village of T'ao-mu 陶目 surrendered of its own accord. In the seventh year (1512), the villages of Ping-so-li 并索立 and Ta-hsiang-tien 大香甸 turned to his allegiance. In the eighth year (1513), he conquered the villages of Na-ku 那古, Ya-lieh-wa 牙烈瓦 and Lu-mi 魯彌 of Shu-lo; in the ninth year (1514), those of Pan-lo-wa 伴羅瓦 and Shih-wa 失瓦; in the 10th year (1515), the villages of Chieh-lo 節落 and Mei-shih-wa 梅失瓦, while the villages of Kuang-shih 光失 and Pan-tien 伴甸 surrendered of their own accord. In the 11th year (1516), he conquered the village of Kan-na-wa 干那瓦 of Chung-tien, and gained a victory over the villages of Li-yu 立由 and Tao-tsai 刀才. In the 12th year (1517), he conquered the villages of Ko-niang 各娘 and La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦 of Ni-na, also Ch'ang-an 長安 of Shu-lo, and in the 14th year (1519), the village of A-t'ao ts'un 阿陶村 of Ni-na. In the 15th year (1520), he conquered the villages of K'uei-tien 虧甸 and Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 of Chung-tien, and in the 16th year (1521), the villages of Ma-wa 麻瓦 of Yung-ning and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦 of Shu-lo.

In the first year of Chia-ching (1522), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Wa-t'o 瓦托 and Chu-ko-wa 處可瓦 of Shu-lo, and also Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦 of Yung-ning. In the second year (1523), he again conquered the village of Ma-wa of Yung-ning. In the fourth year (1525), he conquered the villages of T'ao-so 陶索 of Ni-na, Yeh-yin 也音 and Mu-sheng 木勝 of Shu-lo. On account of his relieving the siege of the neighbouring district of Yung-ning, the Brigadier-General and the Viceroy of Yün-nan conjointly inscribed a scroll for him in memory of his remarkable deeds, and presented him with a flower-

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173

design shield. In the same year, he conquered the following villages of Ni-na: Ch'ien-pao 欠保, Wu-ts'un 五村, La-chia 剌加, and Shih-ts'un 失村. In the fifth year (1526), he conquered the upper part of the village of Lo-na-ts'un 羅那村 of Chao-k'o, and the lower part of the village of Li-hsi 立西,[69] also the village of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, and the village of Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching 鹽井.[70]

Ch'iu was born on the 23rd day of the twelfth moon of the 12th year of Ch'eng-hua (January 7th, 1477), and died on the 2nd day of the eighth moon of the 5th year of Chia-ching (September 8th, 1526).

His wife, A-shih-hsiang 阿室香, was a daughter of the Kao family 高氏, her father being-magistrate of Pei-sheng chou. Her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou-miao-hsiang 高氏延壽妙香. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-kung 阿公, A-shan 阿山 and A-tsung 阿琮. His second wife was named A-shih-ching 阿室井, and her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou 高氏延壽. On her was conferred the same honorary title as that of his first wife. She gave birth to four sons, named A-mu 阿木, A-chü 阿直, A-chi 阿戟 and A-ts'ung 阿從. His eldest son, A-kung, succeeded to the throne.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'iu A-kung* 阿秋阿公 (PLATE 24): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kung 木公,[71] he was also named Shu-ch'ing 恕卿, Hsüeh-shan 雪山 and Wan-sung 萬松. As the eldest son of Mu Ting, he succeeded to his father's throne.

In the sixth year of Chia-ching (1527), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching, T'ao-so 陶索, Hsi-yüan 西原 and Ch'ien-tien 欠甸. In the same year, two men, named An 安 of Hsün 尋[72] and Feng 鳳, rebelled, and in the seventh year (1528), they invaded the province, and even besieged the provincial capital. Kung gained

---

[69] The village of Li-hsi, now written 立溪, is west of Wei-hsi in the valley of the Salween.

[70] Yen-ching is the present Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, under whose jurisdiction are the Wu-so 五所 and the Mu-li King.

[71] It was Mu Kung who, as a young man, before he became the native magistrate of Li-chiang, compiled this and the Illustrated Chronicle with the help of his friend Kao. He also wrote a collection of poems entitled *Hsüeh-shan Shih-chi* 雪山詩集, (Collection of Poems by Hsüeh-shan, which was Mu Kung's given name). One hundred and fourteen of his poems were printed in a small volume called *Hsüeh-shan Shih-hsüan* 雪山詩選 (Selections of Poems by Hsüeh-shan). A preface was written to these poems by Yang Shen 楊慎, dated Chia-ching 己酉, the 6th month, 24th day (July 18th, 1549). The Li-chiang Records state that Yang Shen chose 114 of the poems and called them a "Selection of Poems" by Hsüeh-shan.

[72] The names of the two rebels were An-ch'üan 安銓 and Feng Ch'ao-wen 鳳朝文. The former was a native of Hsün-tien 尋甸, north-east of K'un-ming, in the prefecture of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and the latter of Wu-ting 武定, north of K'un-ming. In both places they held positions as hereditary native officials (*t'u-ssu* 土司). The two joined forces and attacked Yün-nan fu (K'un-ming), burning the north-east gate. They took Sung-ming 嵩明, Yang-lin 楊林 and Ma-lung chou 馬龍州.

The *Ma-lung chou chih* 馬龍州志, ch. 2, fol. 24b–25a, states that in the 7th year of Chia-ching (1528) the Wu-ting and Hsün-tien T'u-ch'iu 土酋 (Native chiefs) rebelled. At first the Jen-te fu 仁德府 (Native officials) An-yang 安洋 and An-nai 安鼐 continuously rebelled, whereupon a transferable official was placed at Hsün-tien. When the fu-magistrate collected the annual taxes in grain, he undressed and beat the wife and son of An-ch'üan and im-

173

great merit by sending his troops to relieve this siege. The Commander-in-Chief, Mu Ming-ching-kung Chao-hsün 沐敏靖公詔勳,[73] General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, reported on his behalf to the Emperor to have his exploits registered for reward.

In the eighth year (1529), Kung conquered and rebuilt the villages of Ta-hai 大海 [74] and Hai-lo 海螺 of Yung-ning. In the ninth year (1530), through application and recommendations made to the Emperor on his behalf by Wu Wen-ting 伍文定, Imperial censor of the Board of Military Office, and by the chief officials of Yün-nan, he received his official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1056, issued by the Board of Civil Office. In the fourth moon of the same year (April 27th–May 26th, 1530), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Tạng-ho 當何 and Chüan-na 卷那 of Chao-k'o, and the village of Chia-kuang-ting 加光丁. In the 10th year (1531), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tang-tsung 當琮, T'ien-sheng 天勝寨, Hsiao-chai 小寨 and Kuang-shih-chai 光世寨 of Shu-lo.

In the 13th year (1534), he selected gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. In the 15th year (1536), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy by official letters patent, *I* 義, No. 278. An Imperial scroll was also given him, bearing the four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Concord and tranquility of my frontier). He also received many pieces of colored satin and silver ingots. On his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, was conferred the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶, the same honorary title.

In the 14th year (1535), he conquered the villages of Nien-ko 年各 and Nien-nao 年惱 of Chung-tien, while the village of Chia-kuang-ch'ü-pa 加光佉巴 surrendered of its own accord. In the 15th year (1536), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chu 天柱 of Ni-na, T'ieh-chu 鐵柱 and Hsiang-va 香押 of Shu-lo, and pacified the villages of T'ien-pao 天保, Chin-

---

prisoned them. Thereupon An-ch'üan united with the Wu-ting barbarian (*man*) Feng Ch'ao-wen and rebelled. They then killed 13 officials of Hsün-tien and Wu-ting; 20,000 soldiers joined them and they burnt and looted the city (*ch'eng* 城). The city Jen-te (fu) was established under the Yüan dynasty as Jen-ti Wan-hu-fu 仁地萬戶府, but was later changed to Jen-te fu. The old city wall is 5 li east of the Hsün-tien hsien of to-day. Under the Ming dynasty it was changed to Hsün-tien Chün-min fu 尋甸軍民府 (Military and civil magistracy of Hsün-tien). It is now governed by Hsün-tien hsien. The *Sung-ming chiu-chih* 嵩明州志, ch. 3, fol. 11b–12a, says that in the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527) An-ch'üan rebelled. He was killed by Governor Fu Hsi 傅習 of Yün-nan. His men were defeated and went to Sung-ming, which they captured. They killed two majors, Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功. For further reference, *see*: ED. CHAVANNES "Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Charria" (II-Notice sur les chefs aborigènes du district de Wou-ting 武定 in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 681–689), where the rebellion is described in detail.

[73] Mu Chao-hsün was his proper name. The title of Duke of Ming-ching was conferred on him posthumously. He was the son of K'un 崑 who at the age of 14 became Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國, Kuei-chou province. He died at the age of 40.

[74] This must refer to the villages around the lake of Yung-ning, called La-t'a Ḵhü in Na-khi. Half of the lake is in Yün-nan and half in Ssu-ch'uan. Various villages are grouped along the shores of the lake and the foot of the encircling mountains.

chu 金柱 and Li-t'o 里托. In the 16th year (1537), he conquered the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 of Chung-tien. In the 19th year (1540), Annam 安南 rebelled against the Imperial rule. Kung assembled his troops, preparing for active service with the government forces. He was instructed by Mao 毛,[75] Imperial censor of the Board of military office, to remain in reserve for the time being, but to select beforehand certain roads for troop movement, and to await mobilization. Meanwhile, His Majesty rewarded him with a silver wine-cup, weighing 10 taels, to be handed down to his descendants as a priceless treasure.

In the 24th year (1545), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Sheng-hsin 勝新, also T'ien-pao 天保. In the 26th year (1547), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui and Sheng-pao 勝保. In the 27th year (1548), he conquered T'ien-kao 天高 village and Ch'ang-sheng 長勝 of Ni-na. He then ordered his eldest son, A-mu 阿木, to lead his troops to capture Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各[76] and to subdue the villages of Kung-ts'u 鑛粗,[77] Tang-lai 當來 and Lu-ku 魯古. In the 28th year (1549), he ordered A-mu to lead his troops to subdue the villages of Kan-t'ao 干陶 and Ko-pan-pa 各伴巴 of Chung-tien. In the 32nd year (1553), he himself conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-sheng 天生 of Chung-tien.

Kung was born on the 10th day of the seventh moon of the 7th year of Hung-chih (August 10th, 1494), and died on the 10th day of the ninth moon of the 32nd year of Chia-ching (October 16th, 1553). His first wife, A-shih-meng 阿室蒙, was the daughter of magistrate Feng 鳳 of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定,[78] and her official name was Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to one son, named A-mu 阿目, who succeeded to the throne. His second wife was named A-shih-yü 阿室于, and her official name was Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶. She gave birth to two sons, named A-chia 阿價 and A-t'ui 阿退 respectively. In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), on account of his son's merit, His Majesty conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 and on his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen.

7. FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH GENERATION

FIFTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-kung A-mu* 阿公阿目 (PLATE 25): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kao 木高.[79] He was also named Shou-kuei 守貴, Tuan-feng 端峯 and Chiu-chiang 九江.

---

[75] Mao Po-wen 毛伯溫 was minister of war and in 1539 headed the troops who were to punish Annam. He was a native of Chi-shui 吉水 of Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi).

[76] Mao-ch'ü-ko belonged to the district of Lin-hsi 臨西.

[77] Kung-tsu 讀粗 is the way it is written in the inscription on the stone-drum of Shih-ku 石鼓, for the translation of which see p. 283.

[78] Wu-ting is a town three stages north of K'un-ming. Both his wives were daughters of Feng Chao-ming 鳳朝明 whose native name was I-lu 奂祿. He was the second hereditary native prefect bearing the name Feng. The family name of his ancestors was originally A 阿; this was changed to Feng in 1488 by Imperial order. His first ancestor was A-erh 阿爾 who was given the chieftainship of the Lo-wu tribe 羅婺部 by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsing 段智興, during Sung Hsiao Tsung 宋孝宗, period Shun-hsi 淳熙 (1174–1189). — From the *Wu-ting chou chih* ch. 3, fol. 49a.

[79] It was Mu Kao who in 1548 won the victory over the Tibetans which is described on the stone-drum at Shih-ku, engraved in October, 1561. *See* pages 282–285.

As the eldest son he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chieh 天接 and Huang-chin-ch'iao 黃金橋 of Ni-na. In the 34th year (1555), the application recommending him as the legal successor to his father's throne of the fu-magistracy of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang was duly sanctioned by the Emperor. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Na-shui 那水 and T'ien-chang 天掌 of Shu-lo, while the village of Li-ko 立各 surrendered of its own accord.

In the 35th year (1556), A-mu received his official letters patent, *Chi* 急, No. 4946, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 9th day of the second moon of the same year (March 19th, 1556) he assumed his official duties. In the 38th year (1559), numerous brigands, led by a man named Ku-p'u 孤蒲, besieged the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 in Chung-tien. On the receipt of an urgent message, A-mu ordered his elder son, A-tu 阿都, to lead his troops to raise the siege. His son killed many brigands and gained a great victory.

On the 9th day of the sixth moon of the 39th year (July 2nd, 1560), he instructed capable subordinates to prepare a budget for wages of workmen required for certain large constructions. On account of this service, the Department of works of the Yün-nan Viceroy conferred on him the third rank of civil official, and applied on his behalf to the Board of Civil Office for its confirmation and for Imperial letters patent. In accordance with the usual custom, he selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court. To assist him the three chief officials of Yün-nan gave him 10 men's rations out of the provincial granary, and 10 transport horses for the journey to the Imperial capital. On the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 40th year (September 16th, 1561), he himself applied to the Board of Civil Office for the confirmation of his third rank of civil official and for Imperial letters patent.

The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu, together with the following commendatory words, "You have been loyal to your nation; you have honored your parents by cutting off flesh from your own arm, to be used as medicine in curing their illness; you have civilized the frontier lands; you have shown your power by safely defending your State against the Pei-fan 北番 (tribes of the north). Speaking of the fame of your virtue, you are perfect both in loyalty and in filial piety. As to your reputation for knowledge, you are well-learned both in literature and in military science. Now We have the pleasure to confer on you specially the third rank of a civil official, and allow your official degree to be classed in the same order as those of Our nine ministers, and your hereditary right of nobility to be preserved in your Ch'iao-mu 喬木 for ever and ever." On his wife, Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. The above-mentioned titles were all conferred by the Imperial patent *Hsin*, 信, No. 877. Again, His Majesty gave him four characters, *Ch'iao Mu Shih Chia* 喬木世家 [80] (The ancient, honorable and exalted Mu family), and permitted him to erect an arch in front of his house with these four Chinese characters carved on it. 173

---

[80] 喬木世家, of these four characters the first two are from the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (Book of poetry), Book I, 9th ode, stanza 1, 南有喬木 — "In the south there are stately trees." These characters were selected as the family name of the Li-chiang chiefs is Mu 木 (tree) and because they lived in the south of the Empire.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 22a–b, in transmitting the official appointments and gifts, the Emperor in his decree wrote as follows:

"Succeeding under Heaven's decree to the throne, We command as follows:

"So far as We know Our Empire, according to the Imperial system is just like a family. For this reason those near and those from afar are treated alike regarding the appointment of officials and the bestowing of titles. This in order to broaden the principle of tranquility throughout Our Empire and to exhibit the law of encouragement.

"Mu Kao, hereditary native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang and Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, if you examine your ancestry, will recall that your forebears were promoted to be prefects. They accomplished many meritorious acts, and as Imperial subjects, from generation to generation, all respectfully performed the duty of defending the Imperial border. By your merit you can make your family as glorious as before, devoting yourself with sincerity to the State. . . . The people on the Imperial border were influenced by your instructions, and the northern barbarians were repressed by your acknowledged power. Speaking about your fame based on your virtue, We believe you to be both loyal and filial. Praising you for your ability, We appreciate that you are versed both in letters and in military affairs.

"Thus We confer upon you an Imperial patent by which you will be promoted to the third official rank, and occupy a seat among the nine ministers, so as to show Our esteem for you. We hope that you will exert yourself to keep the peace of Our State. Defend your native place, and comfort and instruct your people. Reverently receive the Imperial bounty sanctioned with Our Imperial seal, and keep your ancient family noble forever. Be reverent!"

The Emperor again commands as follows:

"According to the State law of recompensing one for merit, if a title is conferred on a husband, a favor must be extended to his wife. This to emphasize the principle of the five human relationships (伍倫) and to strengthen the law of inheritance.

"Tso-shih, wife of Mu Kao . . . , you were endowed with virtue and came from a family of rank and position. As you are diligent in helping your husband, you obtained a reputation of lofty virtue. We especially confer upon you the title of Shu-jen by an Imperial patent. Receive this silken [Imperial] bounty and glorify your sex forever!

"Given in the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), *Hsin* 信, No. 877."

The Emperor also presented him with three pieces of colored satin and 600 silver ingots, he also sent back 10 men's rations taken from the provincial granary and the 10 transport horses given him by the three chief officials of Yün-nan. All these things arrived safely at the fu-magistracy. On the 7th day of the eighth moon of the same year (September 15th, 1561), when the gifts were delivered to him at his office, he expressed his sincere thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. The complete list, in detail, of the rest of the Imperial gifts may now be found in the book of Hereditary Rights.

173

In the 43rd year (1564), he ordered his son, A-tu, to relieve the village of Sheng-pao 勝保 and, by sending his troops still farther, he also conquered the villages of Chin-chia-la 金加剌 and Ch'iu-kuang 秋光 of the district of Shu-lo. In the 44th year (1565), he conquered the villages of Ts'o-ko 磋各 and Li-ya-ti 立陊地 of Ni-na. In the fifth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (May 27th–June 26th, 1568), he ordered A-tu to settle the affairs of the rebel Ku-p'u 孤備 by attacking him in his retreat in the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Ko-li 各立. This his son carried out successfully.

Mu was born on the 22nd day of the first moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (February 5th, 1515), and died on the 11th day of the eleventh moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing (November 29th, 1568). His wife, A-shih-mao 阿室毛, was the daughter of magistrate Tso 左, of the fu-magistracy of Meng-hua 蒙化府,[81] and her official name was Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to two sons, A-tu and A-ch'un 阿春 of which the elder succeeded to the throne.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-mu-A-tu* 阿目阿都 (PLATE 26): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tung 木東, and he was also named Chen-yang 震陽, Wen-yen 文巖 and Yü-hua 雩華. As the elder son of Mu Kao 木高, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he ordered all the people of his different districts to help him kill the brigand leader Ku-p'u 孤備, whose followers were then thoroughly defeated and dispersed. In the fourth year (1570), he sent his troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of Ni-na, where he was victorious. In the same year, he received his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 32, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 18th day of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 13th, 1571), he assumed his official duties, and then conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-hsi 天宵 of Ni-na. In the sixth year (1572), Hsiang-tao 相刀,[82] leader of the Tibetan tribes of the village of Li-kan-mao 利干毛 of Ni-na, knelt before him and repented his former crimes.

In the second year of Wan-li (1574), Tu selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, to express his thanks to the Emperor for his grace, and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the same year, he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Lei-sheng 雷勝. In the third year (1575), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and on his wife, Kao-shih-hsien 高氏嫻, the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, also on his second wife, Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富, the same honorary title, by the Imperial patent *Chih* 智, No. 104. The Emperor also gave him four Chinese characters, *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (Screen of my north-western frontier), and permitted him to build an arch for his house bearing these four characters. He also presented him with three pieces of colored satin, and 600 silver ingots, and paid his men travelling expenses equal to the salary of two men, provisions for 12 men, and four horses for their journey home. On the 21st day of the tenth moon of the same year (November 22nd, 1575), when the gifts had been delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

---

[81] Her ancestor was a certain Tso-ch'ing-lo 左青羅 who was native associate magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧 in the Yüan dynasty. His descendant Tso-ho 左禾 became the Huo-t'ou 火頭 of nine tribes and the interpreter of Shun-ning chief in the Ming dynasty. He was made a chou-magistrate of Meng-hua 蒙化 in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) because he persuaded a rebel by name Kao Ta-hui 高大惠 to submit. The office then became hereditary — *Meng-hua fu chih* 蒙化府志, ch. 4, fol. 19a.

[82] CHAVANNES gives the name as Hsiang-tao Hu-mu 相刀胡目. The words *Hu-mu* (Eye of the barbarians) refer to his being the leader of the Tibetans of the village of Li kan-mao of the district of Nyi-na (Ni-na). This epithet occurs on the stone-drum inscription at Shih-ku.

In the same year, he in person led his troops against the village of La-ch'lu-kuang 剌秋光, and ordered his eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, to advance on the villages of Na-ch'i-yin 那其什 and Ni-pao 你保, where they gained a great victory, beheading over 400 brigands and taking over 300 prisoners. In the fifth year (1577), the Fan brigands invaded the border of the village of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [83] in the Ni-na district, whither he ordered A-sheng to attack them with his troops. The brigands were prepared to resist him, in that they already had mustered several ten thousand men who occupied as their headquarters the villages of A-hsi 阿西 and Chi-chü-ngai (yen) 集苴岩 at the mouth of the Tao-na-ting-ssu River 刀那丁思江.

At first A-sheng's army lost the battle, and was forced to retreat from its defensive line. Thus, the brigands became bolder and stronger. A-sheng then ordered his troops to be courageous and divided them into four camps. Meanwhile, they proved their valor by assaulting the two villages of strategic importance, and capturing or killing over 1,000 brigands. All the hidden retreats of the enemy were at last taken. No sooner did his troops advance on Niang-ti 娘的, Kuo-tsung 果宗, Ts'ao-na-mu 草那目, Ch'un-kan 春干, T'ao-ch'i-wei 陶其尾, A-hsi-ni 阿西你 and Wang-lüeh-shao 王略哨, than all these desolate places surrendered of their own accord. In the seventh year (1579), Tu established the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, Sheng-lieh 勝烈 and Feng-yang 俸楊.

Tu was born on the 26th day of the ninth moon of the 13th year, *chia-wu* 甲午, of Chia-ching (November 1st, 1534), and died on the 18th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year, *chi-mao* 己卯, of Wan-li (December 6th, 1579). His wife, A-shih-lu 阿室魯, was the daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou,[84] and her official name was Kao-shih-hsien

---

[83] Mao-ch'ü-ko was in the district of Lin-hsi, and the latter belonged to Ni-na (Nyi-na), the present Wei-hsi.

[84] Her first ancestor was Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓祥; he was the first native magistrate of Pei-sheng (Pei-sheng T'u-chih-chou 北勝土知州) during the Yüan dynasty. Owing to meritorious services, Yün-nan officials bestowed on him the title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫. He died in the 13th year of Ming Hung-wu (1380). Her father was Kao Te 高德, the ninth hereditary native magistrate of Pei-sheng. He took office in the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554) — *Yung-pei T'ing chih*, ch. 3, fols. 33b and 34b.

The first native official (magistrate) of Shun-ning, which is 320 li south-south-west of Ta-li, was Meng-hung 猛興. He was the descendant of Meng-yu 孟禹 who was chief of the P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages), the P'u 濮 of ancient times; *see* note 95. The latter inhabit besides Shun-ning, Ching-tung 景東, P'u-erh 普洱 and neighboring regions. They came under Chinese rule during the Mongol dynasty. When Meng-yu submitted to the Chinese empire in the time of the Mongol dynasty (in the first year of the period T'ien-li of Emperor Ming Tsung, 1329) his name was officially changed to Meng 猛 (Fierce and brave). — *See* also *Shun-ning fu chih*, ed. 1725, ch. 5, fol. 26a. Meng-hung was authorised to rule in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Later his people stopped paying taxes, quarralled and killed

● 173 高氏桐. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-sheng 阿勝, A-ch'eng 阿成 and A-hsien 阿先. His second wife, A-shih-hui 阿氏輝, was the daughter of magistrate Meng 猛 of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧, and her official name was Meng-shih-fu 猛氏富. Tu's eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, succeeded to the throne.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-tu A-sheng* 阿都阿勝 (PLATE 27): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Wang 木旺. He was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春, Yü-lung 玉龍 and K'un-kang 坤崗.[85] As the eldest son of Mu Tung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the eighth year of Wan Li (1580), his hereditary right of fu-magistrate was duly recommended and confirmed. In the ninth year (1581), he received his official letters patent *Chi* 忌, No. 58, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 21st day of the third moon of the same year (April 23rd, 1581), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he established the villages of Li-hsi-ko 立習各 and T'ien-ling 天嶺 of Chao-k'o. In the 10th year (1582), the soldiers of the Wu-so 五所[86] of the Yung-ning 永寧 district burned and destroyed 27 small villages of Shu-lo. In the first moon of the same year, he personally led his troops to the attack and forced them to retreat to the interior of Yung-ning. In the eighth moon of the same year, he again led his main troops, and divided them into several battalions, to advance by different routes. On his arrival at the village of Tao-li 刀立 of Shu-lo, the headman of Tso-so 左所 assembled many soldiers to lay siege to his military headquarters. He victoriously raised that siege and defeated them completely. With his triumphant troops, he again attacked and conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, P'u-la 普剌 and Chia-wa 加瓦. In the 11th year (1583), on account of the rebellion of the Hsi-k'ou 西寇, western robbers, he supplied the government with 1,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. In the same year, he personally led his troops to invade Yung-ning and conquered the villages of A-lo 阿羅 and Kuang-li 光立, where he captured magistrate A-hsiung 阿雄[87] of the fu-magistracy, together with his followers, but did not kill them. In the 12th year (1584), the remaining followers of A-hsiung joined the brigands of the five So (Wu-so) districts, and again besieged the village of Hsiang-shui and also Kuang-shih 光世. Sheng personally raised the siege, and defeated them completely. He then conquered the village of Hsiang-shui-wa 香水瓦 and established the village of T'ien-yu 天佑.

In the same year, a punitive expedition was carried on against Burma 緬, and this time he supplied the government troops with 2,000 taels of silver. In the 13th year (1585), he selected horses and native products, and sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court to thank the Emperor for his grace, and to

---

one another. In consequence, a Ta-li military official attacked and conquered them, after which a transferable official was installed.

[85] In the Second Chronicle it is written Shen-kang 神崗.

[86] The Wu-so 五所, who were once under Yung-ning, are the five districts ruled by Na-khi T'u-ssu, or Chiefs, belonging now to south-west Ssu-ch'uan (*see* Wu-so).

[87] A-hsiung was of the eighth generation of the A 阿 family of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu 永寧土司; he took office in the second year of Wan-li (1574), succeeding his brother A-ying 阿英. He died in 1586. (*See* Genealogy of the Yung-ning chiefs, p. 367.)

apply for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty gave him three valuable gifts, and sent his men back with an official reply.

In the 14th year (1586), he established the village of Hsiang-chu 香柱. After that, he marched with his men to La-t'a 剌他,[88] and captured all the land of the villages of Hsiang-shui, Chi-mai 啟買, Lo-hsiang 羅相 and Chang-ming-yüan 丈明原. In the 15th year (1587), he captured and killed the brigand leaders A-chüan 阿卷 and La-mao-chia 剌毛加 of the Tso-so[89] district. In the 16th year (1588), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pu-wa 卜瓦 and Pao-chih 寶之. In the same year, the Hsi-fan tribes of La-t'a conspired with the people of Wu-so to besiege the village of Hsiang-chu. Immediately he led his troops to raise the siege, and gained a great victory over the enemy. In the same year governor Hsiao 蕭 of Yün-nan joined three other chief officials of this province, to submit a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧, the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 931. In the second moon of the 17th year (March 16th–April 14th, 1589), when the Imperial dispatch was delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he rebuilt the village of Chün-lu-wa 均魯瓦 of the district of Chao-k'o. In the 19th year (1591), he rebuilt the iron-chain bridge of the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na.[90] In the 20th year (1592), he built the wall of the village of Chao-ts'ang 昭蒼 of the Ni-na district. In the 21st year (1593), he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui and P'u-pao 普保. In the 22nd year (1594), he rebuilt the walls of the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Pu-hsi 卜習 In the same year, Burmese brigands plundered the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰,[91] whither he led his troops to relieve the people, forcing the brigands to retreat. In the 23rd year (1595), he rebuilt the villages of Tsung-che 宗者 and Yin-chu 銀柱寨 of the Ni-na district. In the fourth year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1631), on account of his grandson's military merit, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, together with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor, *see* note 96), and on his wife, Lo-shih 羅氏, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen. [The *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 40a, states that the Emperor gave him, in addition, the posthumous title of Junior treasurer in the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury.]

Sheng was born on the 1st day of the ninth moon of the 30th year of Chia-ching (September 30th, 1551) and died on the 13th day of the fifth moon of the

---

[88] La-t'a 剌他 is the Na-khi name of the Tso-so district, from the T'u-ssu's family name, which is La 喇.

[89] In the 15th year of Yung-lo, the headman of Tso-so was called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. The name in the Chronicle is written 剌, but it should be 喇.

[90] There is no iron rope or chain-bridge in the Wei-hsi district to-day, unless the district to the south between Lan-p'ing and Yün-lung was included in Ni-na in those days. There are several iron chain-bridges over the Pi Chiang 濞江, marked Lo-ma Ho on MAJOR DAVIES' map.

[91] The towns of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 in south-western Yün-nan are here meant.

173 24th year of Wan-li (June 8th, 1596). His wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅 [illegible] of the magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧. She gave birth to three sons, named A-chai 阿宅, A-hsi 阿希 and A-hsiang 阿祥. The eldest, A-chai, succeeded to the throne.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 35b, the Emperor in his Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 554, states as follows:

"As you, Mu Wang, aimed at pacifying the rebellion, you unfortunately lost your life on the battle-field. Your great fidelity to Us cannot be obliterated from Our memory. You are indeed a pattern of manly honor. For this reason We give you an Imperial patent by which you receive the title of Chung-shun ta-fu and Junior counsellor to the provincial governor of Yün-nan."

All this is not mentioned in the Genealogical Chronicles. It would appear, according to the Emperor's opening sentences, that Mu Wang lost his life on the battle-field while suppressing a rebellion.

EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-sheng A-chai* 阿勝阿宅 (PLATE 18): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Ch'ing 木青. He was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生, Ch'iao-yo 喬岳 and Sung-ho 松鶴. As the eldest son of Mu Wang, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his hereditary right was confirmed, in the 20th year of Wan-li (1592), the Li-su 力些 [illegible] tribes of Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 plundered some government salt from the office of the Salt magistrate of Wu-ching 五井 (Five Salt-wells). He received a dispatch, issued by Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'ang-tsu 沐昌祚,[illegible] Ch'ien-kuo Wu-ching kung 黔國武靖公, General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, with the joint signatures of two other chief officials of Yün-nan, instructing him to settle this trouble. He personally led his troops thither and, defeating the enemy, he decapitated 83 of the brigands. Thus, he was honorably rewarded with a flower-design shield and many other gifts.

[illegible] The first native official of Lan chou was called Lo-k'o 羅克, and was a native of Lan chou. In the Mongol dynasty he was made a Wan-hu 萬戶 (chief of 10,000 families). During the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he made his submission with all his people. On account of military merit he was made a T'u chih-chou 土知州 (native sub-prefect). One of his successors, by name Lo-ts'ai 羅才, in company with Mu Ch'u 木初 (8th generation), attacked the Po-i 伯夷 [chief] Tao-ch'ien-meng 刀千孟 and during this campaign he acquired merit. The office then became hereditary until Lo-ts'an 羅贊, who ruled in the capacity of a T'u-she 土舍 (native resident) but his hereditary right was not recognized — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 143, p. 6a.

[illegible] The Li-su 傈僳, or 力些, are aborigines who inhabit the south-western part of the province of Yün-nan, especially the region around Yün-lung. They do not form any particular agglomeration in Yün-nan, but are distributed over the entire province, some Li-su villages occurring even in Yung-ning territory, north-east of Li-chiang. Yün-lung is a prefectural city situated on the Pi Chiang 濞江, also called the Lo-ma Ho 羅馬河, and is north-east of T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝). In the Li-chiang prefecture they dwell at the entrance to the Yangtze gorge of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain), on the steep cliffs of 'A-ts'an-gko. Near them, at La-muan-dso, dwells another tribe called the Chung-chia 仲家. They came originally from Kuang-hsi (Kwangsi).

[illegible] Mu Ch'ang-tsu was *military governor of Yün-nan and hereditary Duke of Kuei-chou* (Ch'ien-kuo). He was the son of Ch'ao Pi 朝弼, who was dismissed from office in the sixth year of Lung-ch'ing (1572) on account of misconduct.

In the 24th year (1596), Chai's hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. He then assumed his official duties. In the 25th year (1597) when the towns of Ta-hou chou 大侯州[illegible] and Shun-ning 順寧 rebelled, he assisted by supplying 4,000 taels of silver for soldiers' pay.

In the 34th year (1606), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen by Imperial patent, *I* 義, No. 284. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627), the Emperor gave permission to his son to build for his mother, Lo-shih, an arch in honor of her chastity. In the fourth year of Ts'ung-cheng (1631), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor again conferred on him a posthumous honorary official degree — that of the second rank and honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[illegible] and on his wife, Lo-shih, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent, *Jen* 仁, No. 4.

[It is related of Mu Ch'ing that he was tired of life and committed suicide on the Li-chiang snow range].

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 27a–b, in transmitting the decree giving Mu Ch'ing his posthumous rank the Emperor wrote as follows:

"Mu Ch'ing, you are the father of Mu Tseng, Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. On account of your son's merit, I confer upon you the posthumous titles of Chung-hsien ta-fu and Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. Though you could not keep your body alive, yet you had a good son. You became more renowned because you lost your life. Your spirit may seek to receive this. Receive this blessing and exert your strength in the nether world."

Chai was born on the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 3rd year of Lung-ch'ing (September 18th, 1569), and died on the 15th day of the tenth moon of the 25th year of Wan-li (November 23rd, 1597). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿室佳, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅, of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ch'un. She gave birth to one son, named Ssu 寺, who succeeded to the throne.

NINETEENTH GENERATION. — *A-chai A-ssu* 阿宅阿寺 (PLATE 29): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tseng 木增. He was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, Hua-yo 華嶽 and Sheng-pai 生白 (pronounced Sen-pe in Yün-nan). As the only son of Mu Chai 木宅, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 26th year of Wan-li (1598), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

In the same year, the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao 阿丈剌毛, of the

---

[illegible] The ancient Ta-hou chou was 130 li south-east of Shun-ning. In olden days it was the land of the Man-i 蠻夷 (Barbarians). Their chief was called Meng-yu 孟育 and belonged to the P'u-man 蒲蠻 tribe. They submitted during the reign of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260–1263) of the Mongol dynasty.

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597) the name was changed to Yün chou 雲州; to-day it is called Yün hsien 雲縣.

[illegible] Under the Ming dynasty a Pu-cheng shih was a governor of a province, but now the title refers to a provincial treasurer.

173 village of Hsiang-shui [87] rebelled. He led a punitive expedition against him, and defeated him thoroughly. In the 27th year (1599), he attacked the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-yao 好堯, where he gained a great victory. In the 28th year (1600), he submitted a report to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned his hereditary right, and presented him with his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 10, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 10th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 18th, 1600), he assumed his official duties. He captured the brigand leader Pi-li 必哩 at the village of T'ao-tien 陶甸 in the district of Chung-tien. In the 29th year (1601), he fell upon the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui, P'u-wa 蒲瓦 and Hao-yao, where he attained a great victory. He then sent troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the district of Ni-na, where he won a great victory. In the same year, he fought the rebels of the village of Shu-lo (west of Mu-li 木裏), and was victorious on that expedition. Again, he charged the rebels of the allied villages of Hsiang-shui, Tso-so and Hao-tien 好甸, where he captured and killed the disobedient resident, Hai-yüan-chü 阿原具.

In the third moon of the 30th year (April 22nd–May 20th, 1602), he won a great victory at the village of Shun-ta 順大. He carefully examined the merits and demerits of his men on that expedition, and varied their pay accordingly. The Emperor also rewarded him with 20 taels of silver. He then fought the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-tien at the mouth of the Tang-ting River 當丁江, where he was again victorious. In the 31st year (1603), he repaired the Yung-chen bridge 永鎮橋 of the Ni-na salt-well 倷娜鹽井.[88] In the same year, Sau killed the brigand leader P-li 必哩 in the village of Shu-lo. In the 33rd year (1605), in the district of Hsiang-shui, he decapitated the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao on the bank of the Pa-hu River 把胡江.

In the 34th year (1606), in accordance with the usual official regulations, he sent his envoys to the Imperial court to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then favoured him with a reply through the medium of the Board of Civil Office. In the sixth moon (July 5th–August 3rd) of the same year, the aforesaid Board issued him Imperial letters patent, conferring on his father, Mu Ch'ing, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of magistrate of the fu-magistracy, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen. Again, the Board conferred on him the same honorary title as that of his father, and on his wife, Lu-shih-fan 陸氏蘩, the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the Imperial patent *I* 義, No. 283. In the second moon of the 35th year (February 26th–March 27th, 1607), he expressed

---

[87] This was in the present-day Tso-so territory east of Yung-ning, and in south-west Ssu-ch'uan.

Under the Nan-chao Kingdom, the Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 of to-day was called Hsiang-ch'eng chün 香城郡, the first part of the name of the village being apparently derived from that district, to which Hsiang-shui belonged.

[88] The river on which the city of Ni-na is situated is called the Yung-ch'üan Ho 永泉河 (River of eternal spring). The salt-well here mentioned as belonging to the Ni-na (Wei-hsi) district, can only be the La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴 salt-well which, however, is not in the Wei-hsi district at the present time. La-chi-ming is west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, which once belonged to Li-chiang.

173

his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the 37th year (1609), he led his troops in person to the villages of Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of the Chung-tien district, where the brigand leader Ku-p'u 姑譜 with his followers knelt before him. In the 40th year (1612), he ordered his troops to assault the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the Ni-na district, over which he gained a great victory. In the 41st year (1613), he fought against the brigands of the village of Pa-t'o of the Chao-k'o district, where he was victorious. In the 43rd year (1615), he seized three Ta-tzu 㺚子 (Tartars), and sent them directly, together with the heads of the brigands and some captured military weapons, to the three chief officials of Yün-nan, to be registered for merit. In the 44th year (1616), he conquered the village of Lu-pa-ting 魯巴丁 of Shu-lo. In the 45th year (1617), he again ordered his troops to attack the village of Pa-t'o, where he was victorious. In the 46th year (1618), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of the Emperor, who presented him and his wife with many pieces of fine hemp, silk, colored satin, gauze, socks and boots, and authorized him by a special Imperial decree to defend the frontier lands. He received all these things in good condition.

In the same year, as the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 in Feng-t'ien 奉天 was greatly alarmed [on account of Manchus?], he transported directly to the Board of revenue 10,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. The fund was transferred on his behalf to the Board of war for the registration of merit. His Majesty ordered the matter to be carefully printed in a special record, and published as a good example to all the officials in the whole country. At the same time the Board of Civil Office sent him a reply, conferring on him an Imperial official dress of the third rank, and a reward of silver coins worth 30 taels. In the 47th year (1619), he instructed the five divisions of the village of Pa-t'o to supply a certain number of laborers for government work. In the 48th year (1620),[80] he sent 1,200 taels of silver to the Imperial capital to buy cavalry horses for the Imperial military service. His Majesty presented him with two Chinese characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness) (PLATE 30). In the same year, by using persuasion, he brought Jih-yin-a-chün 日音阿均 of Hsiang-shui into submission.

In the same year, when Emperor Kuang Tsung of the Ming dynasty changed the year-title to T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌 succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高氏懋 in the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou, but their official secretary, named Kao Lan 高蘭, conspired to usurp that same magistracy for himself. Sou was instructed to settle the affair. Thereupon he led his troops to that city and took prisoner the chief culprit Kao Lan and many of his followers. For that service, he was rewarded with a flower-design medal

---

[80] Shen Tsung (Wan-li) died on the 21st day of the seventh moon in the 48th year of his reign (August 18th, 1620). His son Kuang Tsung, who ascended the throne in the same year, adopting the reign title T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, died after having reigned for less than six weeks, on the 1st day of the ninth moon (September 26th, 1620). He was followed by his son Hsi Tsung 熹宗, who, in the ninth moon of the same year, ascended the throne, adopting the reign title of T'ien-ch'i. The latter, however, commenced in 1621.

173 and many other valuable gifts. In the second year of T'ien-ch'i (1622), the tribal chief She 奢[100] of Ssu-ch'uan rebelled against the Imperial rule; Ssu transported a large sum of money to pay the government soldiers for his suppression.

Thus, the governor of Yün-nan rewarded him with a gilt flower-design silver medal and many pieces of colored satin. His Majesty again presented him with a suit of official dress of the third rank, 30 taels of silver, and two (rolls) of hemp and silk. In the same year, Ssu sent envoys to the Imperial capital to offer ten suggestions to the Emperor, and to contribute 1,000 taels of silver to be used on behalf of those who had either sacrificed their lives in the war or had been remarkable for their loyalty or filial piety. The Imperial court praised him as a loyal official. The Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that His Majesty had promoted him to the position of Yün-nan Pu-cheng shih-ssu Yu-ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司右參政 (Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor). On the 14th day of the third moon of the 3rd year (April 13th, 1623), he respectfully accepted the appointment. In the fourth year (1624), he resigned from official life.

In the fifth year (1625), he contributed to the government, 1,000 taels of silver for soldiers' rations and transported this fund to the provincial treasurer of Yün-nan. At the same time he sent men to the Imperial capital to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, and on his wife, Lu-shih 祿氏, the honorary title of Shu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 555. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honorary titles by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 9th day of the fourth moon of the 6th year (May 4th, 1626), he expressed his thanks for the Emperor's grace by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the same year, he provided many laborers for the government corvée, and taking advantage of this, he applied to the Emperor for an honor to be conferred on his mother for her marital fidelity. In the seventh year (1627), His Majesty permitted him to build an arch in memory of her chastity. In the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (1628), Governor Min 閔[101] of Yün-nan made a report on his behalf to the Emperor for the purpose of recommending and praising his past deeds.

In the same year, he was instructed to lead his troops to the city of Yün-lung,[102] where he took prisoner 13 brigand leaders. He then forwarded to the

---

[100] This tribal chief's name was She Ch'ung-ming 奢崇明, he was hereditary Hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使 of Yung-ning, Ssu-ch'uan, and belonged to the Lo-lo tribe 猓玀種. The She family first submitted to Chinese rule during the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398). Ch'ung-ming was only distantly connected with the She family. Yung-ning (not to be confused with the Yung-ning of north-west Yün-nan) belonged previously to Kuei-chou and forms now the sub-prefectural city of Hsü-yung 敘永 in Ssu-ch'uan. (Latitude 28° 08', longitude 105° 18'. PLAYFAIR). — From the *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a; and *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 2b, and ch. 2, fol. 24b.

[101] The governor's name was Min Meng-te 閔夢得. He ruled over Yün-nan and Kuei-chou.

[102] Yün-lung is situated on the banks of the Pi Chiang 沘江 (latitude 25° 54', longitude 99° 36'. PLAYFAIR. MAJOR DAVIES gives latitude 25° 50', longitude 99° 50'.) It is mainly inhabited by the Min-chia 民家 tribe.

Yün-nan government many military weapons which he had captured. In the third year (1630), he rebuilt the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na district and the bridges of Ch'ing-lung 青龍 and Wei-yüan 威遠,[103] and also helped the Imperial capital and Kuei-chou province with considerable funds to pay the soldiers, and transported the money directly to the Board. Thus the Yün-nan Viceroy Chu 朱[104] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who promoted him to the position of Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury in the fifth moon of the 4th year of Ch'ung-cheng (May 31st–June 28th, 1631), and conferred on him the additional honorary titles of T'ung-feng ta-fu, and Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury, and on his wife, Lu-shih, the honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 4. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honors by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 4th day of the fourth moon of the 5th year (May 22nd, 1632), he expressed his thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the seventh year (1634) the local scholars of the city of Ho-ch'ing invited him to attend a great feast.

In the 10th year (1637), he recovered the village of Yang-li 楊立 of Chao-k'o district. He sent many laborers to work on the Imperial tombs, and transported a contribution of 500 taels of silver to the Imperial court. In the eighth moon of the 13th year of Ch'ung-cheng (September 16th–October 14th, 1640), the Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that the Emperor had promoted him to the position of Senior treasurer of the Ssu-ch'uan provincial treasury, and had permitted him to build an arch in the Yün-nan provincial capital in honor of his loyal deeds, as an example and in order to give encouragement to other tribal chiefs of all other provinces. His Majesty then presented him again with flower-design silks, a sheep and wine,[105] which were delivered with the Imperial dispatches to the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, which ordered messengers to take the presents to him, whereupon he reverently received them.

In the same year, Ssu rebuilt the village of Na-ya 那牙 of the Ni-na salt-well. In the 15th year (1642), the Fan-i 番夷 (Hsi-fan and Lo-lo) tribes of Lang-ch'ü 浪渠,[106] Tang-wa 當瓦[107] and Chih-tien 知甸, and the Li-su, tribes of the

---

[103] Ch'ing-lung is a small town south of Ching-tung, and is near the Black River, (Pa-pien Ho or Pa-pien Chiang 把邊江); Wei-yüan (latitude 23° 30', longitude 100° 45') is a town north-west of P'u-erh, situated on the west bank of the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河, which flows into the Mekong. Wei-yüan is now called Ching-ku 景谷. It is near a salt-well called Hsiang-yen ching 香鹽井 (Eragrant Salt-well).

[104] The Viceroy's name was Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元. He was a native of Shan-yin 山陰 in Che-chiang 浙江 (Chekiang), and received a doctor's degree in 1584. His first appointment was as judge of the administrative court of Ta-li — *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a.

[105] In ancient days it was the custom to give a present of a sheep and a jar of wine.

[106] Lan-ch'ü is the territory of a Na-khi T'u-ssu south of Yung-ning and north of Yung-pei; the latter town is four stages east of Li-chiang.

[107] Probably the Tong-wa Tibetans are meant, who live north of Chung-tien. The Tong-wa to this day still make raids on Chung-tien and on the territory to the south of it. In 1933 they came in large numbers and held Chung-tien for some time, as a base from which to rob

173 four mountains of Pi-shuo 必勺 surrendered of their own accord. In the 16th year (1643), Li Yung-chen 李永鎮,[108] leader of 100 households of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川,[109] and his brothers started a riot and murdered the magistrate of that city. Ssu was instructed to settle this affair, and succeeded in making them all prisoners and sending them to the office of the Yün-nan viceroy. In the 17th year (1644),[110] he contributed labor towards government works, and supported the Imperial court in Nanking with large sums of money to be used for the urgent need of paying the soldiers. His Majesty then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing 太僕寺正卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

In the first year of Hung-kuang (1645),[111] he was ordered to attack the city of Lang-ch'ü, whither he led his troops and settled the trouble caused by its obstinate rebels. In the same year, he was instructed by an Imperial messenger to recruit Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) soldiers. Meanwhile, on account of his merit in supplying funds for the pay of soldiers, the Imperial censor Ch'en 陳 sent some officials to present him with satin, embroidered with golden flowers and woven with four-clawed dragons, which he accepted with great respect. In the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (May 15th–June 12th, 1646), the Board of Civil Office informed him that the Emperor had sanctioned his promotion to the rank of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing, and had given him a special note, sending greetings to his whole family.

Ssu was born on the 17th day of the eighth moon of the 15th year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1587), and died on the 1st day of the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (September 9th, 1646). His wife, A-shih-yü 阿室于, was the daughter of magistrate Lu-hua-kao 祿華誥 of Ning chou 寧州,[112] and her

---

the neighboring districts. In 1942 over 5,000 Tibetans came and held Chung-tien for a considerable time, till they were driven off by being bombed by Yün-nan military planes.

[108] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 142, fol. 34b, and the *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, ch. 109, fol. 21b, both give the name as Yang Yung-chen 楊永鎮 instead of Li 李 Yung-chen.

[109] The city of Chien-ch'uan is two days south of Li-chiang Latitude 26° 29', longitude 99° 54'. (PLAYFAIR).

[110] This should read the first year of the Ch'ing Emperor Shun-chih 順治 (1644) The Mu family remained loyal to the very last to the House of Ming.

[111] According to the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 3a–b, Fu Wang 福王 (Prince Fu) assumed the reigning title of Hung-kuang 弘光 in Chiang-nan 江南 (An-hui and Chiang-su [Kiangsu]) in the second year of Shun-chih 順治, in which year he died. He was followed by Prince T'ang 唐王, who ruled in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) as Lung-wu 隆武.

[112] Lu-hua-kao was the native magistrate (T'u-ssu 土司) of Ning chou. His ancestor, P'u-chieh 普傑, during the Mongol dynasty was Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) of Tien-t'ing 甸町, which was five li north-east of T'ung-hai hsien 通海縣, which in turn was 150 li north-east of Lin-an fu 臨安府. In the Ming dynasty there appears a certain Lung-sheng 弄甥, who with the opening of Yün-nan at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) acquired merit and was given the family name Lu 祿; he was appointed native sub-*magistrate of Ning chou in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Ning chou was a secondary* prefecture north of Lin-an fu, to which it belonged. The name Ning chou dates from the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (Kublai Khan) (1276). At the end of the period of T'ien-pao (about 755), Ning chou was captured by the Man [Savages], when it was called Lang-k'uang 浪曠, though the tribes called it Han-lung 罕籠 in their language. Ning chou is the

173

official name was Lu-shih-fan 祿氏蘩. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. His second wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-hui 阿室揮, gave birth to his eldest son, named A-ch'un 阿春, who succeeded to his father's throne. His third wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-ko 阿室哥, or A-shih-jung 阿室榮, gave birth to three sons, named A-hsien 阿先, A-pao 阿寶, and A-jen 阿仁.

8. FROM THE TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION

TWENTIETH GENERATION. — *A-ssu A-ch'un* 阿寺阿春 (PLATE 31): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy.[113] His official name was Mu I 木懿. He was also named K'un-lun 崑崙 and T'ai-mei 台美. As the eldest son of Mu Tseng, he succeeded to his father's throne. Since his childhood, he had possessed a wonderful intellect. He was a man full of love and respect, and had great courage and wisdom. His father Tseng loved him greatly. In the fourth year of T'ien-ch'i (1624), when his father retired to Chih Shan 芝山 [114] to rest and care for his health, his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

Every morning, just when the cock began to crow, he would first comb his hair and wash his face, and would then wait quietly at the door of his father's bedroom to pay his respects. Deferentially he would request his father to advise him in the solving of important problems. He would then beg leave to take his breakfast, and would afterwards carry his father's advice into effect. In the sixth moon of the 9th year of Ch'ung-cheng (July 3rd–July 31st inclusive, 1636) the Pi-li 必哩 [115] Fan-man assembled many brigands, and plundered

---

present-day Li hsien 黎縣, the name being revived from the T'ang dynasty (eighth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 [634]) when it was called Li chou 黎州.

The *T'ung-hai hsien chih*, ch. 3, fol. 14a, says that the ruins of the city of Tien-t'ing of the Han dynasty are north of the city of T'ung-hai. The Meng family established there a Tu-tu fu 都督府. The Tuan family established the office of Chieh-tu-shih and changed the name of the city to Hsiu-shan chün 秀山郡 and then to T'ung-hai chün 通海郡. During the Yüan dynasty a Hsüan-wei-ssu was established.

[113] As already remarked on p. 66, Chang Chih-shun says the Genealogical Chronicle was compiled by Mu Kung before he succeeded to his father, Mu Ting 木定, and was finished by 1516. It will be noted that up to Mu Tseng (Mu Sheng-pai) inclusive, the number of the generation is always given, Mu Tseng being the 19th. Beginning with A-ch'un (Mu I), the number of the generation is omitted. It would appear that up to the end of the 19th generation the Chronicle was considered complete, for a colophon now to be found at the end of the Chronicle which has been extended to include the 24th generation, is dated 1648 and 1650; this colophon must first have been placed at the end of the 19th generation (Mu Tseng, who died in 1646). The compilation of the Chronicle experienced an interruption through the imprisonment of Mu I by Wu San-kuei. The greater part was compiled by Mu Kung, and after him must have been kept up by his son and grandsons, etc. There is no additional colophon to tell us who compiled the rest of the Chronicle.

[114] Chih Shan is on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, west of the village of Pai-sha 白沙, Boa-shi (*see* Geographical Part p. 184).

[115] Pi-li is apparently identical with the Tibetan tribe Pi-lieh 必烈. Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖, who in his travels came to Li-chiang in 1639, states in his work *Hsia-k'o-yu-chi* 霞客遊記, 1929 ed., Shanghai, ch. 12, fols. 20b–21a, that the Pi-lieh and Hu-ku 胡股 Tibetans established themselves on the northern border of Li-chiang in the year *chia-hsü* 甲戌 (1634). Previously the aboriginal tribe Ying-ch'üan 鷹犬 (hired ruffians), who, subject to the Pi-lieh tribe, was guilty of crimes against the prince of the Pi-lieh, fled and established itself

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 173 ruthlessly the frontier of Yün-nan province. Ch'un was instructed by his father to lead his main troops to attack them, and crossing the river (Yangtze), went with his men in a northerly direction. Hearing of his arrival with troops at P'u-wa 普瓦, Pi-li dispersed with his followers to far-away desert places without engaging in fight. Thus Ch'un gained a great victory, and the affair was settled.

In the 10th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1637), Ch'un carefully prepared gifts of horses and native products and, in accordance with the usual custom, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent.

In the city of Lang-ch'ü at that time, there lived a man by the name of A Yung-nien 阿永年, who failed to secure the position of chou-magistrate of the city, and in revenge murdered his rival, Fen-ju 芬茹. So Ch'un was instructed by both the viceroy and the governor of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops in order to punish the usurper, who was then utterly defeated. In the meantime, some of his followers offered his head to Ch'un, and in this way he settled the whole affair without much difficulty. His merit resulting from this expedition was afterwards reported to the Emperor, who ordered that thereafter the city of Lang-ch'ü[116] be annexed to the territory of Li-chiang.

In the 12th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1639), the Emperor conferred on Ch'un the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor, and, according to the usual custom, presented him with rolls of hemp and silk and many silver ingots. On his father, Mu Tseng, was conferred the additional honorary title of the Ssu-ch'uan Senior provincial treasurer. He himself was permitted to build an arch in the provincial capital in honor of his deeds and engrave thereon the four characters, *I Fu Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progress, Sincerity, Loyalty, Uprightness).

Meanwhile, on account of the urgent need of money for military purposes, he contributed to the Imperial court for soldiers' rations all the funds collected for the building of the arch. In the 16th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1643), the Yün-nan Civil Governor, Wu Chao-yüan 吳兆元,[117] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, describing all his past deeds and his character of loyalty, obedi-

---

on the Li-chiang frontier where it committed many piracies, etc. In 1635 the chief of Li-chiang sent his soldiers to oust the brigands, but they were defeated.

The territory of the Pi-lieh tribe was said to have been two months' journey north of Li-chiang. This explains the statement in the Chronicle that they dispersed to far-away desert places without engaging in battle. (*See also* CHAVANNES, Documents Historiques et géographiques in *T'oung-pao* Vol. XIII, p. 630; and in BACOT *Les Mo-so* p. 192). Hsü's statement and the one in the Chronicle do not coincide and it is quite probable that Hsü's account is the correct one — the Mu family being too proud to acknowledge defeat. Yet, it is stated (page 126) that Mu Tseng killed the brigand leader Pi-li [whose followers apparently adopted his name for their tribe] in Shu-lo in 1603.

[116] Lang-ch'ü is ruled by a T'u-ssu whose name is A 阿. His territory is now under the magistracy of Yung-sheng.

[117] He was a native of *P'u-t'ien* 莆田 *in Fu-chien* 福建 *(Fukien) and held the degree of Chin-shih* 進士. He was first Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor) of Yün-nan at the end of the reign of Ch'ung-cheng (1643). Later he became Governor General. — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fols. 18a–b.

ence, purity and honesty. The Board of Civil Office sent the governor a reply, informing him that the Emperor had granted that Mu I should inherit his father's honorary titles of Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Junior provincial treasurer, as an example, and to give encouragement to the chiefs of all the other frontier districts. In the 17th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644),[118] the Emperor promoted his father, Mu Tseng, to the rank of Senior provincial treasurer together with the additional honorary title of Minister of the Imperial droves and permitted him to erect an arch in honor of his deeds with the following four characters, ***Wei Lieh Chiu Ch'ing*** 位列九卿 (Ranked among My nine ministers) displayed on it. Unfortunately, in the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647), during the rebellion of the Liu-k'ou 流寇 (Roving bandits)[119] this arch and all the gold, silver, official documents and Imperial letters patent given to this family by the different emperors of past dynasties, and by many of the inhabitants of the region, were either burned or plundered, only the lives of the people being spared. However, after the cloudy days had passed, the bright sun appeared again.

In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Emperor sent his great Imperial army to Yün-nan to exterminate these wild brigands. After they had been utterly defeated, the poor people living in this district again began to enjoy life. When the Imperial army reached Yün-nan, Mu I was the first to submit to the Imperial order, and petitioned the Imperial generals about the miserable condition of his people. On the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 17th year of Shun-chih (December 30th, 1660), the Board of Civil Office issued him an official dispatch and an official seal, appointing him magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He went with all the representatives of his people some distance beyond his city to receive the above-mentioned dispatch and seal, showing great deference to the Emperor by burning incense and prostrating a hundred times before the Imperial envoys.

---

[118] Huai Tsung (Ch'ungcheng) committed suicide on Wan-sui Shan 萬歲山 at dawn on the 19th day of the third moon of the 17th year of his reign (April 25th, 1644). So the orders for the promotions of Mu must have been issued either the latter part of the 16th year, or the very beginning of the 17th year — more probably the 16th year — the letters patent reaching Li-chiang during the 17th year.

[119] The Liu-k'ou (Roving bandits) were the hordes of the bandit chiefs Li Tsu-ch'eng 李自成 and Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠. The former was the famous rebel who captured Peking when the last of the Ming Emperors hanged himself on Wan-sui Shan. He was a native of Mi-chih 米脂 in Shensi (*see* GILES, *Biographical Dictionary* No. 1226).

Li's followers overran the country. In the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647) a bandit chief by name Sha Ting-chou 沙定洲, a native chief of Annam, with his men came for the second time to attack Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 (seven stages west of K'un-ming). When he heard that the Roving Bandits had reached Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), he turned back; this was in the first moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (1647). In the fourth moon of the same year (May 5th–June 2nd) Sun K'o-wang 孫可望, another leader of the Roving Bandits, and his associates entered Yün-nan. He came via I-liang 宜良 and took the capital, Yün-nan fu. He minted Ta Shun 大順 money [Ta Shun was the dynastic title of the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng who had made himself emperor and called his reign Yung-ch'ang 永昌]. It was Sun K'o-wang who changed the name of the province and capital city from Yün-nan sheng 雲南省 to Yün-hsing sheng 雲興省, and Yün-nan fu to K'un-ming fu 昆明府, and K'un-ming hsien 昆明縣 to K'un-hai hsien 昆海縣. (For further reference, see *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 9–20.) *See also* E. HAUER, Li Tzŭ-Ch'êng und Chang Hsien-Chung in: *Asia Major*, Vol. 2, pp. 436–498, and No. 3, pp. 267–287.

Immediately after that, he assumed his official duties. Obeying the gracious Imperial order, he succeeded his father as magistrate of the city, and ruled his people well. He was considered the founder of the State of Li-chiang of the present Ch'ing dynasty.

In course of time, the rebel Wu (Wu San-kuei 吳三桂)[120] came to Yün-nan, and revolted against the Imperial rule by conspiring with the T'u-fan 吐蕃. As the district of Li-chiang was strongly defended and justly ruled by Mu I, the latter incurred the wrath of the prince, who hated him thoroughly. In the sixth year *ting-wei* 丁未 of K'ang-hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un to enlist 1,000 native soldiers, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorized his family to rule and defend this frontier land. Also a silver seal, issued to his family by the three chief officials of this province he confiscated. In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan, for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li Chiang (Yangtze), called Chao-k'o, Ni-na Hsiang-lo, Shu-lo and Chung-tien,[121] which originally had been under the rule of the Mu family. Moreover, Wu charged Mu I with the responsibility of making good the lost taxes. In the eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1669), Governor Li 李[122] of Yün-nan submitted a recommendation on his behalf to the Emperor, who released him from the burden of that taxation.

---

[120] Concerning the history of Wu San-kuei, *see*: HAENISCH, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas, in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 14 (1913), pp. 1–129. *See* also GILES, *B.D.* No. 2342.

Wu San-kuei was a native of Liao-tung, and at the end of the Ming dynasty was engaged as military commander resisting the advance of the Manchus. He ruled over Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, where he was semi-independent. In 1674 he threw off his allegiance and incited other feudatory princes to rebellion.

According to the *Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 20, fol. 41b, Wu San-kuei died of dysentery and choking on the 17th day of the eighth moon in the 17th year of K'ang-hsi (October 2nd, 1678). This happened at Heng chou 衡州 in Hu-nan. In the 16th year (1677) he gave La-p'u 喇普 in north-western Yün-nan to the Mongols to win their support. His reign title was Chao-wu 昭武. His grandson, Wu shih-fan 吳世璠, took the title of Emperor and called his reign Hung-hua 洪化. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 6a, states that Wu San-kuei died in the tenth moon (November 14th–December 13th inclusive). His body was brought back to Yün-nan by Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱, his general, and deposited in the An-fu yüan 安阜園 (a garden also called Yeh-yüan 野園), which was outside the north wall of Yün-nan fu, according to the *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3a. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the Yeh-yüan was built by Wu San-kuei. It is also said that his body was thrown into the Yang-tsung Hai 陽宗海, the present-day Ming Hu 明湖, which is the lake visible from the railroad south of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) after descending from the K'un-ming plain.

[121] Chao-k'o (照可 or 昭可) is supposed to have been a district east of Wei-hsi. Ni-na (Na-khi, Nyi-na) is Wei-hsi.

Hsiang-lo is the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, a small village situated in Mu-li territory in a valley among limestone mountains to the east of Mt. Ki-bo sKi-hbo(སྐི་འབོ), a high range in the Yangtze — Ya-lung watershed between Yün-nan and Mu-li Hsi-k'ang. A pass leads over this range called Hi-lo-ra raŋ and it is to the north of this pass that Hsiang-lo is situated.

Shu-lo is in the valley of the Zho Chhu (Shu Gyi). On the Chinese maps it is written So-lo 索洛 and the river is called Wu-liang Ho 無量河. It is the Shen-dzong of the Hsi-fan in Mu-li territory, south-west Hsi-k'ang. In this valley can still be seen the watch-towers, or blockhouses, erected by the Na-khi chiefs. (For Chung-tien, *see* pp. 248–252.)

[122] The governor's name was Li T'ien-yü 李天裕; he was a native of Shun-t'ien 順天 (Peking). He became Governor of Yün-nan in 1668, and was an honest and upright official. Wu San-

During all this time, many native chiefs of Yün-nan, great and small, vied with one another to obtain favours from Wu, by accepting his illegal appointments and quickly changing their official letters patent. Mu I alone stood firm and kept aloof, without wavering in the slightest. Wu searched him repeatedly and severely for his official documents, but he refused to deliver them up to him and intentionally made excuses. His main purpose was to bequeath them to his descendants, in order to manifest his loyalty and righteousness to the Imperial court. Thus the rebel Wu hated him the more, and secretly ordered him to conspire with the T'u-fan. He, however, defended his own territory and remained firm in his contention.

Now the only way left for Wu was to compel him to resign from his position, and to appoint Mu Ching 木靖, his eldest son and legal heir, to the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang and to attend to the affairs of this district. At last he accused Mu I of secretly conspiring with the T'u-fan to cause trouble. By thus falsely accusing him, he had him arrested and sent to Yün-nan fu, where he remained imprisoned for seven years, and nearly died. Fortunately, our August Emperor finally realized the incomparable loyalty of this native subject, who had suffered so much so far away from the Imperial court, and had him released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his original hereditary position. He maintained his magistracy up to the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1673), when Wu started another rebellion, and intentionally brought much harm upon the Mu family by again presenting the T'u-fan kingdom with that territory belonging to Mu I called Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, situated within the valley of the Li Chiang, and by charging Mu I with the burden of making good the loss in taxes. It was in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694) that Viceroy Fan 范[133] of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou proposed to the Emperor to have him excused from this heavy burden of taxation.

Although all of Ch'un's past heroic deeds, and the merits he had acquired in his life, never had been rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, none of his descendants ever forgot them. They orally passed on his praises, as if they had been engraved on a stone monument for posterity. He lived to over 80 years. His children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren lived together with him under the same roof, in all four generations. His happiness was thus not comparable to that of the common people. He was born on the 15th day of the fifth moon of the 36th year of Wan-li (June 26th, 1608), and died on the last day of the first moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (March 17th, 1692). His wife, Lu-shih-kuan 祿氏琯, was the daughter of an official family of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定.[134] On her was conferred the posthumous

---

kuei memorialized the throne to deport people of Tien (Yün-nan) to other places, but Governor T'ien-yü opposed him and the people were left in peace.

[133] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳. He was a Han-chün 漢軍, that is, a descendant of a native of North China who had joined the Manchu invaders against the Ming. He was also a Bannerman of the first rank of the Bordered yellow banner (Hsiang-huang ch'i 鑲黃旗). He became Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686.

[134] There was no such family at Wu-ting holding the position of native magistrate. The hereditary native magistracy of Wu-ting belonged to the Feng 鳳 family. The office of

honorary title of Shu-jen of the second rank. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-ching 木靖 and Mu-yu 木櫾. His second wife, Lu-shih-jui 祿氏瑞, was a daughter of the same official family from the same fu-magistracy as his first wife. On her was conferred the same honorary title. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-chan 木旃 and Mu-hsi 木榽.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION. — *A-ch'un A-su* 阿春阿俗:[125] Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu-Ching 木靖, and he was also named Hsiao-ts'ang 曉蒼 and Wen-ming 文明. As the eldest son of Ch'un, he succeeded to his father's throne.

Since childhood, his character had been one of modesty and simplicity. He was very fond of studying the ancient Chinese classics and poetries. Every day he buried himself among the hundreds and thousands of volumes of old books kept in his library, where he would sit for hours to meditate and appreciate their contents. He read all the old books and manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father and his ancestors, and had them all carved (on wooden blocks) and printed as records, or arranged into literary essays, in order that they be handed down as valuable legacies to his children and later generations. Whenever he heard of famous scholars or sages, he would call on them at their residence, and hold agreeable conversations with them. He never failed to treat them with deference, inviting them to be his teachers, and showering

---

T'u-ssu of Wu-ting was abolished in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607). Neither was there a Chinese official by the name of Lu who held the post of magistrate of Wu-ting. No such name occurs in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* or *Wu-ting chou chih*.

[125] Mu Ching in this Chronicle is given as the 21st generation, while in the Second Chronicle his younger brother Mu Yu 木櫾 (*see* Plate 32), also called Chün-chang 君章, and with the surname Chih-an 治安, is listed as the 21st generation.

Mu Ching became hereditary T'u-ssu on the 12th of April, 1669, or rather he assumed the position only, for he died on the 16th of August, 1671, before the Imperial letters patent arrived. The Second Chronicle states that he died in the 11th year of K'ang-hsi (1672). I presume the First Chronicle to be correct, for it gives the month and day.

In the Second Chronicle Mu Ching is entirely omitted and his younger brother, Mu Yu, is named as the successor to Mu I, who in the meantime had been in prison in Yün-nan fu. This younger son is listed as the 21st generation; he was born on the 15th day of the first moon in the 1st year of Ts'ung-cheng (February 14th, 1628) between the hours of 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., and died on the 15th day of the seventh moon of the 43rd year of K'ang-hsi (August 15th, 1704) between the hours of 9 and 11 P.M. Chavannes gives 1688.

The Second Chronicle states that in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680) Mu Yu became ill and turned the affairs of office over to his son Mu Yao 木堯, who was the nephew of Mu Ching 木靖, although his grandfather Mu I was still alive. Yet we read further on that, on the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688), his son was given an Imperial dispatch which conferred on his father the posthumous title of Chung-hsien ta-fu. There is certainly an error in this date for this would make his son apply to the Emperor for a posthumous title for his father sixteen years before the latter's death. The dates should either be transposed or the following explanation adopted: The First Chronicle does not give the date of Mu Yu's death, but simply states that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu on the same date as given in the Second Chronicle. It seems very probable that the title was bestowed on him before his death and on the date given, *i.e.*, 1688, or eight years after his retirement. The error is then in the Second Chronicle in the statement that the title was conferred posthumously. The other alternative would be to transpose the dates. Chavannes, who does not mention these discrepancies, merely takes the earlier date as that of his death, although on that date the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu (*see* also p. 141, second paragraph).

upon them his richest gifts. He was, indeed, a man of high literary attainment and with a heart at ease. Later on he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Buddhism, and understood thoroughly the most difficult allusions.

In the later years of his life, he studied many Tibetan Buddhist classics, from which he acquired a clear understanding and spiritual inspiration. In the third moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (April 1st–29th, 1669), the Yün-nan provincial treasurer sent him an official dispatch enclosing his official letters patent issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 12th day of the third moon of the same year (April 12th, 1669), he assumed his official duties. Whenever he met his tribespeople, he would advise them to build up their character, and practice loyalty and filial piety, and encouraged them to follow the examples given in the ancient classics. He was always kind-hearted and merciful to everybody, and never punished his people severely by means of whips. He hated those who liked to talk about cruel and unlawful punishment.

He was not fortunate enough to have an heir, therefore he adopted his nephew Mu Yao 木堯 as his own son and legal heir. On the 2nd day of the seventh moon of the 10th year of K'ang-hsi (August 6th, 1671), he died unexpectedly before the Imperial letters patent arrived. He was born on the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year of T'ien-chi (January 5th, 1628). His wife, T'ao-shih-i 陶氏怡, was the daughter of the native magistrate of Ching-tung 景東.[136]

TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. — *A-su A-wei* 阿俗阿胃 (PLATE 33): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Yao 木堯. He was also named Chung-sung 中嵩 and Hua-yo 華嶽. He was the eldest son of Mu Yu 木懿, who was the younger brother of Mu Ching 木靖. As he was adopted by his uncle Mu Ching as his legal heir, he succeeded to his uncle's throne. He was gifted with loyalty and filial piety and was very resolute and wise. Immediately after the death of his adopted father and in accordance with the latter's will, his official secretaries and the tribespeople wished that he should succeed him. But he wept bitterly in mourning dress, saying to his people: "Loyal subjects must be found in the household of obedient sons. Our family has bequeathed to its children the teachings of loyalty and filial piety as valuable legacies for many generations. Is it right for a son to enjoy a life of wealth and honor, and leave his father to suffer poverty and humiliation? If I could carry out my own wish, I should first make my father ruler of this kingdom,[137] and then myself." All the tribespeople shouted with joy, praising and obeying him.

---

[136] During Mu Ying's 沐英 incumbency (he was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384), T'ao-o 陶俄 was the first Ching-tung native magistrate. His father was a certain A-chih-lu 阿只弄, who lived during the Mongol dynasty, and controlled several districts among which Wei-yüan 威遠 was one. His name was A-t'ao-o 阿陶俄, which was changed to T'ao in the 17th year of Hung-wu (1384). T'ao-shih-i's father was probably T'ao-hsi 陶璽, who became native magistrate of Ching-tung in the 11th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1638). — From *Ching-tung hsien chih kao*, ch. 5, fols. 49a–50a.

[137] As already mentioned, in the Second Chronicle Mu Yu is figured as the successor to Mu I instead of Mu Ching, who is given in the First Chronicle. The latter cannot very well be considered to have been native magistrate of Li-chiang, as he died before he had received his appointment, although he was the legal heir. He selected his younger brother's son to succeed him. The latter, however, refused to assume the position while his father was still alive. As his father was actually appointed, he rightly takes the place of his elder brother Mu Ching in the later Chronicle.

In the meantime, he explained in detail why his father, as the brother of his adopted father, should succeed to his position as magistrate of this district, and how he himself would enter into a bond with his father to help carry on the important responsibility of managing the affairs of his people. He sent the same explanation in the form of a petition to the Yün-nan Viceroy Li, who forwarded his proposal to the Emperor and duly obtained for him an Imperial reply which praised his most filial action, and permitted his father to inherit this magistracy, and to enjoy this offical honor for six years. After a certain period his father resigned from official life. Mu Yao then assumed his father's position as his legal heir, but in doing so he still expressed considerable sorrow both in manner and in words, and acted as if he were unwilling to do so.

At that time, the rebel Wu occupied the capital of Yün-nan as his most important strategical post, but Mu Yao remained loyal to the Imperial rule, and never obeyed his command. In addition to this, he secretly investigated Wu's followers, and sent information privately by his headman to Yung-lüeh Chiang-chün Chao 勇略將軍趙 (the Brave and conquering general Chao),[128] in Ssu-ch'uan province, and in all sincerity volunteered to help his army. Chao sent him a secret reply containing words of praise and encouragement. At the same time, Mu Yao sent the same information to Wang 王, General in defense of the military station of Chien-ch'ang 建昌;[29] he then quickly assembled many of his tribesmen at the Ch'iu-t'ang Pass 丘塘關,[130] and there built stone barricades to check the advance of the enemy.

On the 25th day of the seventh moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (August 19th, 1680), Brigadier-general Wang 總鎮府王 and Vice Brigadier-general Wang 標副總府王, under the Yung-lüeh general, both instructed him to enlist quickly 2,000 native soldiers to be ready for the march against the enemy. In case he should experience difficulty in transporting the soldiers' provisions from other parts of Yün-nan at a distance of 1,000 li, he had to find other means of providing the Imperial army vith provisions so that the expedition should be successful. The generals promised him that, after it was settled, they would report his merit to the Emperor, and request that the cost of the rice, which he had advanced to them, be twice repaid, and they would also see that all his heroic deeds were carefully recorded. Again, the Yung-lüeh general and Yün-nan Viceroy Chao sent him a secret note saying that his former report had been duly received, and that his loyalty and righteousness had been acknowledged.

---

[128] Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 was a native of Ning-hsia 寧夏, Kan-su. He was Commander-in-Chief (T'i-tu 提督) of Ning-hsia in 1676. In the year 1680 Wu San-kuei's followers took Ssu-ch'uan, and it was at that time that he was sent with an army to destroy the rebels. His title was "The Brave and Conquering General." He was appointed viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou on February 27th, 1680, on account of the merit he had acquired in capturing Ch'eng-tu — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 34b–35a.

It was while *en route* from Shan-hsi to Yün-nan that he was met by Mu Yao's messenger in Ssu-ch'uan. He died in 1697. The *Ning-hsia fu chih*, ch. 13, fols. 25a–27a, has a great deal to say about this general.

[129] Chien-ch'ang is a long, fertile valley in Ssu-ch'uan, north of K'un-ming. Its capital is *Hsi-ch'ang* 西昌, the former *Ning-yüan fu*.

[130] The Ch'iu-t'ang Kuan, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 26b, is 25 li south of Li-chiang. It is the entrance to Li-chiang. In front of it are two mountains, one on each side, and the road passing through the center is very difficult to negotiate. A guard-station on the pass was once repaired by the native magistrate, who inscribed on it four characters: *Pao-I T'ien-Hsi* 保乂天西 (Protect the West).

On the 26th day of the second eighth moon (October 18th, 1680) of the same year, the viceroy again instructed him to gather his troops secretly from far and near, and employ them either as guides, or in preparing boats, soldiers' rations and fodder, and promised that his merit in being the vanguard of this expedition would be reported in detail to the Emperor. His Majesty would be requested to show him additional grace and reward him abundantly. Later, the viceroy wrote to Mu Yao again saying he had heard that Mu Yao had rendered good service to the great Imperial army under difficult circumstances, on its arrival in Yün-nan to recover its capital from the enemy. He also told him that he was aware of his brave and fearless fighting *en route* to Yün-nan fu, and how sincerely he had volunteered his services to the headquarters of the Imperial army. He informed him that the Emperor had ordered the Ku-shan-pei-tzu 固山貝子,[131] Chang T'ai 章泰, the Ting-yüan p'ing-k'ou ta chiang-chün 定遠平寇大將軍 (Great general of the far Southern punitive expedition), to reward him justly according to his own discretion; also that the viceroy himself was rewarding him in advance.

On the 28th day of the fourth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (June 15th, 1681), the viceroy reported to the Emperor on his behalf, who then gave him an additional official seal and official letters patent, ordering him to manage all his military affairs properly and to defend the frontier to the best of his ability. On the 23rd day of the fifth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (July 8th, 1681), he again received an Imperial order through the service of the Ku-shan-pei-tzu, Chang T'ai, informing him that the Emperor had greatly appreciated his loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to the nation, in devoting his efforts to the mustering of his troops for purposes of defense; and that now he (the Great general) had specially instructed General Hsi 將軍希, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Sang 提督桑, and the volunteer general Wang Hui 投誠將軍王會, together with a certain Pai Lin-sheng 白麟生, to lead the most powerful Imperial troops, both Manchu and Chinese, to the city of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 [132] and against the rebel Wu.[133] Mu Yao was instructed to do all

---

[131] Ku-shan-pei-tzu is the Manchu Ku-sai Bei-tzu (*Ku-sai* signifying *Banner*) and designates an Imperial prince of the fourth order. Chang T'ai led his great army to Yün-nan. His soldiers at that time were quartered in the Kuei-hua Temple 歸化寺. Meanwhile, the robbers decided to hold out against the Imperial forces, and to await the arrival of their own reinforcements from the west. The robber chief, Kuo Chuang-t'u 郭壯圖 (whose wife was the daughter of Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan 吳世璠), however, did not listen to this advice and made a sortie with his troops and attacked Chang T'ai. All the Imperial forces under the various generals and the viceroy Chao Liang-tung attacked them in return. The elephants in the regiment of the robbers suddenly stampeded and drove their army into the Chin-chih Ho 金汁河. (This stream is also called Chin-leng Ho 金棱河. According to the *Yün-nan fu chih* it is 10 li east of Yün-nan fu.) Only 27 soldiers of the robber Kuo Chuang-t'u escaped and entered the city — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 104, fol. 2a.

[132] The rebel general Ma Pao 馬寶 (robber) had fled from the eastern part of Yün-nan (Hsün-tien 尋甸) to Ch'u-hsiung, whither the officers Hsi Fu 希福 and Sang Ko 桑格 followed

173

in his power to levy his own troops, in order to prepare for the defense of his territory. In case the rebel Wu and his brigand followers should flee to his district, he should help the Imperial army to check them, and co-operate with it in order to destroy the brigands. The merit he would thereby acquire would again be greatly rewarded by the Imperial court. Thereupon, Mu Yao recruited more then 10,000 tribesmen, and organized them into a defensive corps and awaited the approach of the brigands. There happened to escape at that time to his post at Li-chiang, over 10,000 brigands led by seven rebel generals, among whom was Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱,[134] who intended to steal a march across the river for the purpose of conspiring with the T'u-fan to rise against the government.

Mu Yao secretly ordered some men to pretend to be native guides to show the rebels the road to Tibet, but at the same time instructed the wild Li-su tribe to hide in ambush in all the wild places west of the Lan-ts'ang River (Mekong). He personally led his troops of over 10,000 tribal soldiers, following the brigands step by step; he succeeded in capturing and killing many of them with their horses, whose corpses were strewn along the highway. When he had pursued them beyond the river, the enemy had scarcely half of their number left, and those remaining tried to escape as best they could. Their only road lay either up steep cliffs and over the unsurmountable peaks which surrounded them, or along the large river blocking them in front. Those who tried to escape by climbing up creepers which grew on the cliffs were all killed by the Li-su. At last, the brigand leader Hu Kuo-chu with his confederates was in great despair, and he committed suicide. Mu Yao secured much ammunition and many military weapons, also two dead elephants. He made a detailed report about this expedition to the Great General [Ku-shan-pei-tzu] Chang T'ai. Thereupon His Excellency the Sui-yüan general and Viceroy Ts'ai 綏遠將軍總督部院蔡,[135] and His Excellency the Yün-nan Governor Yin

---

them and engaged them in battle at Lü-ho 呂合 (60 li west of Ch'u-hsiung and seven stages west of K'un-ming).

The following notes may be of interest regarding the persons mentioned here:

Ma Pao was a native of Shensi and from the beginning a rebel leader. He submitted to Wu San-kuei in 1659 and became his most loyal follower. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676) he fought the Imperial troops and relieved Ch'ang-sha. After the death of Wu San-kuei he passed through Kuei-chou *en route* to Ssu-ch'uan where he tried to stop the advance of the Imperial troops. In 1681 when Yün-nan fu was besieged, he was defeated by General Hsi Fu and forced to surrender. In the autumn of the same year he was executed.

Sang Ko (Sangge) was a Manchurian Bannerman belonging to the Plain White banner. He was in the vanguard on the march to Yün-nan via south Hu-nan. In 1681 he was recalled to Peking. He died in 1699. (*See* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*)

[133] This is Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan.

[134] Hu Kuo-chu was a general under Wu San-kuei. He was first defeated by Chao Liang-tung in the Chien-ch'ang valley. Hu Kuo-chu was later sent to Ssu-ch'uan with other generals to try and persuade that province to join again the cause of the rebels. In this they succeeded and captured various districts. Hu Kuo-chu's troops dispersed after the fall of Hsü chou in Ssu-ch'uan, and he himself fled to Li-chiang where he hid in the high mountains (Yü-lung Shan). Later, on December 19th, 1681, Hsi Fu found him in Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 (south-west of Ta-li on the Pi Chiang), where he was surrounded. To avoid capture he committed suicide by strangulation.

[135] His name was Ts'ai Yü-jung 蔡毓榮. He was a Han-chün and a Bordered white flag

173 尹,[136] both affixed their signatures in a proposal to the Emperor that his hereditary right be confirmed.

In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (May 15th–June 12th, 1684), in accordance with instructions given by the Yün-nan Governor Wang 王,[137] the Provincial treasurer sent Mu Yao an official dispatch issued by the Board of Civil Office, conferring on him the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (*v.s.*), he accepted his hereditary position. In the same moon, on account of rheumatism, he could no longer look after the affairs of his people, and offered to resign from official life.

According to established custom, Mu Hsing 木興, his eldest son and legal heir, inherited his position. On the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688),[138] the Emperor conferred on his father, Mu Yu, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'ing 羅氏慶, daughter of a native family of Lan chou,[139] was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by special Imperial patent. Mu Yao's mother gave birth to five sons, named Yao 堯, Sheng 昇, Tuan 端, Huang 璜 and Chung 忠. His father's second wife also gave birth to five sons, named Ch'eng 成, Wen 紋, Kuang 光, Cheng 貞 and Man 满.

Mu Yao received once more Imperial letters patent for himself, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He was born on the 6th day of the sixth moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (July 7th, 1647), and died on the 28th day of the eighth moon of the 47th year of K'ang-hsi (October 11th, 1708). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿氏加, was the daughter of the native magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安.[140]

---

bannerman. In the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (1670) he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan, Hu-nan and Hu-pe. One year later a separate viceroy was appointed for Ssu-ch'uan and Ts'ai remained viceroy for Hu-nan and Hu-pe only. In the 21st year (1682) he became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. Together with his son Lin 琳 he was sent into exile for crimes committed, and died there in 1699 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 35a–b.

[136] His name was Yin P'i 尹闢. He was still governor of Yün-nan in 1681, when Wang Chi-wen was his provincial treasurer.

[137] His name was Wang Chi-wen 王繼文; he succeeded Yin P'i as governor of Yün-nan. He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman; in 1674 he became Provincial treasurer of Yün-nan, and Governor of Yün-nan in 1681. He was appointed Viceroy in 1691. He died in 1703.

[138] *See* p. 136, Note 125.

[139] The first ancestor of this family was Lo-k'o 羅克, a native of Lan chou. He was the leader of 10,000 families during the Mongol dynasty. In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he led all his people to submission. On account of merit acquired during military exploits he was made native sub-magistrate. Lan chou, the present Lan-p'ing, is 360 li south-west of Li-chiang. During the Mongol dynasty it was in the Circuit of Li-chiang. Under the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), it belonged to Ho-ch'ing and afterwards again to Li-chiang. Lo-ts'an 羅燦 was the last native sub-magistrate. His successors were merely called Hsi-t'u-she 襲土舍 (Hereditary local residents) — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 61a.

[140] The first ancestor of the Kao family mentioned in Chinese records is a certain Kao Ming-

173 On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen of the fourth principal rank. Her official name was Kao-shih-ning 高氏寧. She gave birth to four sons, named Kuei 貴,[141] Hsing 興, Hung 弘 and Chung 鍾. His second wife, Li-shih 李氏, gave birth to four sons, named Chih 枝, Ch'üan 全, Ting 定 and Hui 惠.

Although Mu Yao's merits were not properly rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, yet his fame reached the four corners of the nation. He had proved himself both loyal and righteous to his country. When he was dying, he called his eldest son to his bedside, and handed him a large parcel containing his official seals, dispatches, and diplomas given him by the different emperors, and instructed him to keep them as valuable legacies for his children and those of later generations.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. — *A-wei A-kui* 阿胃阿揮[142] (PLATE 34): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Hsing 木興. He was also named Wei-hsin 維新 and Hsüeh-ch'eng 雪城. He was the second son of Wei (Mu Yao), and succeeded to his father's throne. He was mentally well-endowed, very widely read and had carefully studied all the ancient classics. When full-grown, he understood thoroughly how to manage political affairs. A very sociable man, he attracted numerous friends from all directions. He often strengthened his friendships by widely circulating his poems and specimens of his calligraphy, which he presented to famous scholars and ministers of high rank, who were his contemporaries. The Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Governor-general, Chiang 雲南貴州總督蔣,[143] saw his poems and calligraphy and was much surprised at his wonderful skill.

When Chiang had leisure, he used to request Mu Hsing to write poems and scrolls for him, in return for which he presented him with many gifts. For these Hui also repaid him with presents. Thus their friendship became truly intimate and lasting. On the 6th day of the fifth moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (June 20th, 1692), the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan 總督雲貴部院范,[144] sent him an official dispatch, enclosing a diploma, issued on

---

ch'ing 高明清. The seventh generation after him was a certain Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥, who was sent by Tuan 段 (Hsing-chi 興智), King of Nan-chao, to stop the troops of Kublai Khan and prevent them from crossing into the Nan-chao Kingdom. Being unable to do this, he fled to his native home at Yao-an. He was captured by the Mongols and decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓, the main south gate of Ta-li.

Yao-an is a sub-prefecture under Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, and is north of Chen-nan (chou) 鎮南州, now a hsien. The latter is six and a half stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

[141] Kuei died in early manhood before marriage.

[142] His Chinese name is a transcription of his Na-khi name, Aw-wùa Aw-khü.

[143] There was a Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi 蔣陳錫, who ruled in Yün-nan in 1717, but his name does not appear in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 34b, states that Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi suppressed a rebellion among the Wu-ting chiefs in 1718. According to the *Chung-kuo Jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1540, he was a K'ang-hsi Chin-shih and Governor General of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He was sent to Tibet to comfort and feast the (victorious) troops, but he died of illness within a hundred li of the Tibetan border.

[144] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳; he was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman, and became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686. It was he who brought

the 4th day of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th, 1692) by the Board of Civil Office, ordering him to succeed to his father's position. In the same moon, he assumed his official position. Since he had no legal heir, he adopted the son of his younger brother Mu Hung 木弘, named Mu Ch'ung 木崇, as his own son. He held his position for 28 years; under his rule all his people enjoyed happiness and contentment and proved most obedient to his will. His excellent reputation had spread everywhere.

In the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706), a tribe called the Lu-man 爐蠻[145] started a rebellion. Viceroy Chiang secretly instructed the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang to investigate this matter. As it was not safe for the Chinese to travel into those tribal lands, the viceroy again ordered Mu Hsing to select capable natives of his own land and to send them to Ni-t'ang 泥塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) to investigate carefully the real conditions of the rebelling tribes. Furthermore, those men should return quickly to render a true report to the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang. In this mission, Mu Hsing proved himself not only careful and moderate, but also most patriotic in defending the frontier territory of our empire. In the same year, he contributed some money for the building of the Confucian temple in our city, and did not begrudge 1,000 ounces of silver for opening public schools and engaging teachers.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial army launched a punitive expedition against Tibet by way of Yün-nan. Mu Hsing showed his unusual loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to our nation by making a careful report to the government and offering voluntarily 2,000 of his native soldiers to be enlisted against Tibet. In the eighth moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (September 2nd–October 1st inclusive, 1720), he received an official dispatch from the two chief officials of Yün-nan, the viceroy and the governor, sanctioning his application to keep 1,000 of his native soldiers as a reserve force, and to enlist 1,000 more for immediate service. He was also appointed by them as Superintendent of military affairs, to lead personally 500 native soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his own command, to serve as builders of military stations and bridges along the road, defenders of the important ferries, spies and guides to show the way, and carriers of military provisions. An additional dispatch by the above-mentioned officials was given to his son and legal heir, Mu Ch'ung, who was appointed major to accompany this expedition, and ordered to be in charge of 500 native veteran soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his command. He was to serve under His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu 欽差都統伍[146] as vanguard of the front lines, and as builder of

---

out the first Ch'ing edition of *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan). He died in 1714 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fol. 35b.

[145] The term Lu-man is derived from Lu 爐 the last character in the name of the town Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐 (now K'ang-ting 康定) on the Tibetan border, capital of Hsi-k'ang. The term comprised the Tibetans living between Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang 裏塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (now Li-hua 理化 and Pa-an 巴安 in Hsi-k'ang 西康) in the Tibetan Marches.

[146] His name was Wu Ko 伍格 (Uge). He led, in company with the Assistant Commander-in-Chief Wu Na-ha 吳納哈, 1,000 Manchu soldiers, while the regiments of Li-chiang, Ho-ch'ing and Yung-pei were headed by Major-general Chao K'un 趙坤 (who later became gov-

173 roads along the mountain passes, and of bridges over the streams. The above-mentioned dispatches were duly approved by the aforesaid officials.

In the meantime, Mu Hsing transported military provisions from the different military stations to the battle fronts. Arrived at La-p'u, he rearranged their system of transport. At La-p'u, there was a headman named Pa-sung 巴松, who had suppressed their official dispatches, and prevented their soldiers' rations from being forwarded, whereby they found it difficult to advance any further. Mu Hsing's native soldiers therefore killed him and recovered many of the dispatches. The reason why the Imperial soldiers, both Manchu and Chinese, suffered from want of rations in Tibet, was entirely due to Pa-sung, who had stopped the transport of supplies. On his arrival at A-tun-tzu 阿墩子, Mu Hsing learned that Pa-sung had been one of the most intimate subordinates of Nien 年, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan.[147]

While Mu Hsing was trembling with fear, he received a secret dispatch from the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy Chiang, in which was enclosed a copy of a false report written by the Ssu-ch'uan viceroy to the Yün-nan viceroy full of accusations against him. Thus he was very much frightened, and became so ill that he could neither eat nor drink. At last his health declined, so that he died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (December 8th, 1720), after he had been carried home in the tenth moon (October 31st–November 29th inclusive) of the same year.

As mentioned above, his son, Mu Ch'ung, accompanied the army of the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu on his expedition, and served under him as vanguard in the front lines. He suffered considerably from exposure on snow-covered mountains, and endured heavy frost. Thus he contracted rheumatism which later developed into a serious case of dropsy. On the 30th day of the second moon of the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (April 15th, 1722) he died, after returning home from this expedition, in spite of treatment

---

ernor of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou). Ma Hui-po 馬會伯 led 1,500 Green banner troops plus 500 Li-chiang Mo-so soldiers. They were to cross the Yangtze and unite with the Ssu-ch'uan troops on their march on Tsang 藏 (Tibet) — *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 37a.

See also E. HAENISCH, "Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas," *T'oung Pao*, 1911, Vol. 12, pp. 197–235, 375–424. On p. 400, HAENISCH translates from the *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄, ch. 29, which I render here from the German: General Uge left Yün-nan on the 12th day of the second moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (March 20th, 1720). Uge reports: "As I received a communication from Mu Hsing, native Prefect of Li-chiang fu, asking my permission to accompany me, and at the same time placing his contingents at my disposal, I selected 500 men from his native troops, which I placed under the command of the sons of Mu Hsing and ordered them to join the campaign of our army."

[147] His name was Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states, ch. 103, fol. 2b, that he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721) (*see* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*, p. 404). He was opposed to the placing of Pa-t'ang and Li-t'ang under the native magistrate of Li-chiang and memorialized the throne to have these two places remain under the rule of Ssu-ch'uan. He sent a subordinate general, Yo Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪, with troops to Li-t'ang, who was to join the Yün-nan troops on the march to Lha-sa. This general was one of the most renowned. He rushed ahead without waiting for the great army, and with his small detachment captured Lha-sa. It is due to him that the entire military operation, from the advance march from Pa-t'ang to the capture of Lha-sa, took only four months (May 19th–September 20th, 1720). *See* also CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 634.

by the most skilful doctors. Thus both father and son sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation.

Although the merit they had acquired was not properly recognised or rewarded by the Imperial court, yet it has been remembered and praised by our people until the present time. There is an old saying that so far as loyalty is concerned, an official should bend his body and exhaust his energy in the service of the State, and only death shall put a stop to it. Both father and son were worthy to receive this praise. Mu Hsing was born on the 13th day of the third moon of the 6th year of K'ang-hsi (April 5th, 1667), and died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of the same period (December 8th, 1720). In the 42nd year of K'ang-hsi (1703), when Mu Hsing was still alive, he respectfully received, by the grace of the Emperor, Imperial letters patent conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu together with the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his wife, Lu-shih-lung 陸氏隆, daughter of the official Lu 陸 family of the city of Wu-ting 武定, the honorary title of Kung-jen. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew, Lieutenant-colonel Mu Ch'ung, as his legal heir. The latter's wife, Kao Shih-ch'eng-yü 高氏成玉, daughter of the Kao family, native chiefs of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, also had no son.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-hai A-chu* 阿擇阿住 [illegible] (PLATE 35): Hereditary native Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Chung 木鍾; he was also named Yün-lin 雲林 and Yung-mou 永茂.

He was the fourth son of Mu Yao, and succeeded to his brother's throne. Since his childhood, he had been very simple, gentle and quiet in mind. He never was obstinate or disobedient. He was, therefore, much respected and liked by his people both inside and outside his household. At the age of six, Kao Ying-ying 高奣映,[illegible] native sub-magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安, heard of his pure and gentle character, and invited him to his yamen for the purpose of giving him a perfect education. Kao saw that he was never fond of wasting his time by indulging in games. He consented to give him his daughter in marriage, and treated him as if he were his own son. After some years, Mu Chung begged leave to return home to attend the Imperial examination, but Kao was so fond of him that he could not bear being separated from him. Mu Chung then married Kao's daughter in his father-in-law's yamen.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial court sent a punitive expedition against Tibet and his elder brother and his nephew both lost their lives in battle. His country had no one to look after the affairs of its people; their official secretaries, therefore, invited Mu Chung to return to his own country, and made him administrator of all its military and civil affairs. In controlling the affairs of his fu-magistracy, he never neglected to follow the example of the best teaching of his ancestors. He had a very pleasant dis-

---

[illegible] He is called Aw-khü Aw-dzu in Na-khi, of which the Chinese is a phonetic transcription.

[illegible] From the time of the Ming dynasty the members of his family have been hereditary subprefects of Yao-an. He revised the *Chi-tsu Shan-chih* (Records of the famous Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 [north-east of Ta-li]), and co-operated in writing the famous work called *Tien-hsi* 滇繫.

173 position and was therefore liked by his townspeople. Because he was the younger brother of Mu Hsing born of the same parents, and was the uncle of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 of the same blood, therefore in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722), after his brother and his nephew had died of illness, all his people joined to append their signatures to a recommendation on his behalf to the Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Viceroy Chang 雲貴部院張.[150] He was thereupon appointed to look after the affairs of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. The viceroy sent him a short note saying that, as soon as his family record was submitted to the governor as evidence, his hereditary right would be duly recommended and confirmed by official letters patent.

After having been in office for a little over 40 days, there unexpectedly appeared a man by the name of A-chih-li 阿知立,[151] of the same Mu family. He, with some others, perceiving the bad state of affairs in this fu-magistracy caused by the deaths of Mu Hsing and his [adopted] son [actually his nephew] Mu Ch'ung, and seeing also that the official seal was securely packed, quickly seized the opportunity at once to accuse the late Mu Hsing to the governor. They unearthed old complaints and brought them forward anew. There were certain headmen who, during Mu Hsing's rule, had been organised by a few leaders of this district, and these men pretended to perform public services for the people. They called themselves the Wu hu 五虎 and Shih-ssu piao 十四彪 (Five tigers and Fourteen tiger stripes or Tiger-cats) Party.[152]

These leaders, during the absence of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 and his father (actually uncle) Mu Hsing, while on service with the military expedition, tried in every possible way to rob the people of their wealth in the name of the Mu family, and, under the disguise of reformers, satisfied their selfish ends. Although there was little truth in the accusations which they brought, the Viceroy and Governor Kao 總督部院高 [153] did not wait to examine carefully these false leaders of the people, but, in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), suddenly made a report to the Emperor, saying that Mu Hsing had been very covetous and cruel during his official life, and that even now his people were still accusing him.

---

[150] His name was Chang Wen-huan 張文煥. He was a native of Shensi and held the military degree of doctor. Although he is here called the Yün-nan — Kwei-chou Governor (雲貴) he was actually Viceroy since 1720.

[151] Aw-dshi-lĕr is the Na-khi name of the person who accused Mu Chung at the Yün-nan viceroy's yamen in Yün-nan fu. He lived in the village of Boa-shi mbe-lü (central village of Pai-sha li), a little south of Pai-sha-kai; the hamlet consists of peasants called Mu 木, descendants of Aw-dshi-lĕr. In the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 2, ch. 3, fol. 17a, it states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the native A-chih-li, with Aw-ndo-so (A-chung-chü 阿仲宣), Ho Ji-chia 和日嘉, and Aw-bpu-t'a (A-pao-t'a 阿寶塔), went to Yün-nan fu to accuse Mu Chung and implored and begged the Viceroy Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, and the Governor of the province, Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, to nationalise Li-chiang, and establish a Liu-kuan chih-fu 流官知府 (transferable prefect) and reduce the native prefect to a native syndic or advocate.

[152] The *piao* is also a mythical animal (called Gkü in Na-khi) which is supposed to be able to overcome a tiger.

[153] His name was Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬. He became viceroy in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722). He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 130, fols. 7b-8a, states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) he memorialised the throne that the bad system of hereditary T'u-ssu should be abolished. His reason was that several headmen or chiefs (four in number) had gathered around them many followers and had robbed Yüan-chiang. Three hundred and twenty-six native village headmen also had rebelled, and he sent soldiers to suppress them. The Chung-tien La-ma, also the Tibetan headmen, led 3,500 families to submission. During the incumbency of Kao as Viceroy, the Governor of Yün-nan was Yang Ming-shih 楊名時.

He also reported that Mu Chung's 木鍾 reputation had suffered badly in his native place. Consequently the district should be nationalised, and the title of its ruler, formerly T'u chih-fu 土知府 (Native magistrate of the fu-magistracy) should be changed into Liu chih-fu 流知府 transferable prefect. Further, that the title Liu t'ung-pan 流通判 (Naturalised sub-prefect) should now be changed to T'u t'ung-pan 土通判 (Native sub-prefect). This report was duly registered and confirmed by the Emperor, and the district became nationalised on the 27th day of the fourth moon of the same year (May 31st, 1723).

After Mu Chung's return from Yao-an to Li-chiang he was busy day and night with military affairs without interruption. Since Mu Chung had assumed his official duties only for about 40 days, how could it suddenly be said that his reputation was bad? It is quite plain that he was unjustly accused by his people. Finally it became known that Viceroy Kao of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou had been for a long time an intimate friend of Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan. On receiving the accusation made by A-chih-li against Mu Hsing and Mu Chung 木鍾, Kao planned secretly to take revenge for the murder of Pa-sung 巴松, who was the most favorite subordinate of Nien Keng-yao. At that time, when the members of the Mu family learned that their district was to be reorganised, all tried their best to seize official positions, and acquire some power for themselves. Mu Chung was thus left alone, his influence vanished and he could do nothing. He lived patiently without showing the slightest anger. In the same year, a new magistrate named Yang 楊[144] was appointed to rule the district of Li-chiang. On his

---

[144] His full name was Yang Pi 楊馝 (this character is also read *P'ieh*), and he was a Han-chün Cheng-huang-ch'i 漢軍正黃旗 (Chinese Plain yellow bannerman) of the literary degree *Chien-sheng* 監生 (the lowest degree to be obtained by purchase throughout the Empire). In the first year of Yung-cheng he was appointed Commissioner, or Collector, of revenue of the province of Ho-nan. Afterwards in the same year he became the first magistrate of Li-chiang. A memorial stone bearing the name of Yang Pi, whom it honors, stands outside the last village adjoining Li-chiang on the road leading west and to the small air field.

On the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range, back of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪松村) and immediately behind the present Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple) of that village (it is the last village on the western branch of the plain, at the foot of the snow range), there is a limestone wall or cliff called Gkwua-gyi-ghv-lu 'a-gho. *Gkwua-gyi-ghv-lu* (lit., control water inside), a place where issues a beautiful spring which was controlled by a headman; *'a-gho* = cliff amongst. On this cliff is engraved the name of the first magistrate, Yang Pi, who assumed the position of Li-chiang magistrate in 1723. The cliff is called in Chinese, *Yü Chu Ch'ing T'ien* 玉柱擎天 (Jade-pillar which upholds [bears] the sky); this may have been intended as a metaphor for "a statesman who upholds the country." The words 玉柱擎天 are engraved in the center of the cliff in huge characters (p. 140 and PLATE 36). To the left side of the main inscription are the characters [illegible]: "In the second year of Yung-cheng *chia-ch'en* (1724), in the spring, the prefect of Li [chiang], Yang Pi of Hsiang-p'ing [Hsiang-p'ing hsien was in Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府 or Mukden] wrote this [central] inscription." At the base of the cliff are the characters *Yü Pi Chin Ch'uan* 玉壁金川 (Jade Wall and Golden Stream). Reference is here made to the snow range (Jade dragon Mountain), which rises like an enormous wall above

173 arrival at this place, not only did he not investigate the robberies committed by "The Five tigers and the Fourteen piao party," but he appointed those evil-doers as secretaries of the six sub-bureaux in his yamen and as Hsiang-yao 鄉約 (village headmen).

By using these men as his tools, Yang tried to search out all the possible mistakes made by the Mu family. At last they discovered a case. At the period when Mu Wei-hsin (Mu Hsing) was busily occupied with his allotted military duty, he could not find time to collect the land and grain taxes from the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan and send the revenue to the Provincial treasurer. He thus neglected the collecting of taxes for four years. Mu Chung 木[illegible] was therefore instructed to go to Chien-ch'uan to clear up the account. In the meantime, the magistrate of that chou-city was secretly instructed by the new magistrate of Li-chiang to confine him privately. The judge P'an Ch'ao-ssu (shih) [illegible], whom he employed to look after his judicial affairs, was also arrested and imprisoned. His secretary was forced by means of severe tortures to hand over the official documents which Pa-sung had suppressed with orders to burn them all. His family was then carefully searched and compelled to deliver all the deeds and evidences of their ancestors' landed property. All official documents and dispatches concerning their past generations were ordered to be burned. Happily, his wife, Kao, was a well-educated woman, and could read and write Chinese very well, so that she secretly hid in a strong, safe place, all their Imperial letters patent, and the various medals and proofs given to them by the different emperors, in honor of past merits acquired by their ancestors in the service of the Imperial court.

As the rest of the documents and accounts of this district were burned, nothing could be discovered regarding the quantity of rice and the amount of money kept for public purposes, and stolen by the above-mentioned evil leaders of the people, and appropriated to their own use. In addition, the searchers never credited and put into account that quantity of military rice which had become mildewed and rotten in the barns.

They made a report to the viceroy, who instructed Mu Chung to deliver the exact and entire amount of official property, the public rice and money, without taking into consideration the damage that had been done in the past. Again, the governor instructed the new magistrate to make him pay the balance of over 10,000 taels of silver, which was due from Mu Hsing and his (adopted) son Mu Ch'ung 木[illegible] to the Provincial treasurer during their official tenure. The new magistrate, taking as an excuse this shortage of payment owed by the Mu family to the government, confiscated Mu Chung's 木[illegible] private lands and the buildings thereon which were bequeathed to him by his ancestors. These amounted in all to 12 residences.[illegible]

---

the Chin-ch'uan (Golden Stream — the Yangtze or Chin-sha Chiang, *i.e.*, River of golden sand).

To the right of these characters, engraved in a horizontal line, come the small characters, *Yung-cheng ping-wu hsia jih* 雍正丙午夏日: "On a summer day in the year *ping-wu* of Yung-cheng [1726]," *Ch'ang-chien Nieh Jui t'i shu* [illegible]: "This theme was written by the assistant prefect Nieh Jui." The name of this person is not to be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*.

[illegible] These residences (*d'a* in Na-khi) were distributed over the Li-chiang plain. The farthest

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

• 173

玉柱擎天

雍正甲辰春麗郡守襄平楊馝題書

玉壁金川

雍正丙午夏日

丞郡彝瑞

題書

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CLIFF OF GKWUA-GYI-GEV-LU 'A-GKO

173 The confiscated houses were used as quarters for the soldiers and offices for the new magistrate, and for other public purposes. With regard to Mu Chung's ancestral landed property, the searchers divided it into two classes. First that which had already been sold or mortgaged to other people by his ancestors, with official deeds or proofs, and second that which had not been sold. From the first they tried to get additional payment, while the second was all confiscated by the government. His servants, house-stewards, and private secretaries were all discharged and forced to return to their native villages, to make their living by raising live-stock. The grazing lands were rented out, in order to obtain money to be used in the district for public purposes.

The investigators again questioned and interrogated his wife, Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and tried to make her hand over all their heirlooms of precious objects and valuable trinkets, but she replied that she had been in Li-chiang only for a short time, and had never seen a single precious thing bequeathed to them by the ancestors of the Mu family. What she now possessed had all been given to her by her parents at her marriage. She again said that those things kept by Wei-hsin Kung 維新公 (Lord Wei-hsin) (Mu Hsing) were all taken away by his wife, Ho-shih, while the legacies preserved by Lord Shih-ch'iao 世[illegible]公 (Mu Ch'ung 木崇) were all given to his wife Kao-shih 高氏 (Kao-ch'eng-yü 高成玉). The searchers thought that what she said was true, and found no means to deprive her of her possessions. They gradually stopped their misdoings and felt satisfied with what they had obtained. They then falsified the ancestral records of the Mu family, and invented at their pleasure many false reports, which they sent to the governor. They only gave back to Kao-shih the book containing copies of all the official seals of the ancestors of the Mu family, and directed her and her husband to keep it for themselves for ever.

During this time Mu Chung was still detained in Chien-ch'uan. As soon as he learned that all his property had been confiscated by the government, he stamped his feet and beat his breast in great anxiety. From that time on, he could not eat at all, and gradually became seriously ill with vomiting. He was

---

north was Kwuà-d'a, at the foot of the snow range to the north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村). The twelve ^{1}d'a or ^{2}Ts'ä-^{3}nyi-^{1}d'a were as follows: ^{1}Ggŏ-^{1}dgyü-^{2}hoa-^{1}tkhi ^{1}d'a was the residence of the Na-khi ruler in Li-chiang proper; the upper or ^{1}Ggŏ ^{1}d'a ^{2}Aw-^{3}lv ^{1}d'a was situated at Pai-sha 白沙 or Boa-shi; the lower or ^{2}Mùan ^{1}d'a ^{2}Sau-^{3}chĕr ^{1}d'a was back of the present Ministry of Education; ^{2}Law-^{3}shi ^{1}dtv-^{3}ngv ^{1}d'a; ^{3}Mbu-^{1}tkhye ^{1}d'a was situated below the Mu family temple at Sai-li-wùa; ^{2}Wùa-^{3}nag ^{1}d'a at Sai-li proper; ^{2}Shwua-^{3}wùa-^{3}ds ^{1}d'a near the village of Shu-ho 束河 to the north-west; ^{2}Mùan-^{1}bbu-^{3}ggŏ ^{1}d'a, ^{2}Mùan-^{1}bbu-^{3}lü ^{1}d'a and ^{2}Mùan-^{1}bbu-^{1}mùan ^{1}d'a (these three apparently count as one), they are the upper, central and lower ^{2}Mùan-^{1}bbu ^{1}d'a and are situated on the eastern slopes of Sä-bpi shĕr nv-lv or Wen-pi Shan near the lamasery ^{2}Mùan-^{1}bbu-^{3}nä (*see* pp. 176 and 185) hence the name. ^{2}A-^{3}k'ö ^{1}d'a the first and oldest residence of the Mu family, see page 88; ^{2}Kwuà ^{1}d'a situated by the village of ^{2}Nv-^{3}lv-k'ö, also known as ^{2}Kwua ^{1}d'a ^{1}Ch'wua-^{3}ts'o ^{1}d'a where the stags danced; ^{2}T'aw-^{1}bpö ^{1}d'a or ^{2}T'aw-^{1}bbu ^{1}d'a because there they performed the ceremony of ^{2}T'aw-^{1}bpö and last ^{3}Lü-^{3}khü ^{3}wùa-^{3}wùa ^{1}d'a situated near a small lake called ^{3}Lü-^{3}khü or Central lake, the Chinese Chung-hai 中海; to the east of this artificial lake is the small airfield which is lower than the lake and therefore useless because it is swampy. Near it is an artificial hill about 50 feet high, more like a pyramid in outline, this is called ^{1}Saw-^{3}ngaw-^{3}wùa it is 6 li distant from the village of ^{3}Lü-^{3}khü; there is also a circular temple called ^{3}Lü-^{3}khü-^{3}wùa-^{3}wùa, ^{3}wùa-^{3}wùa meaning round. On ^{1}Saw-^{3}ngaw-^{3}wùa the Na-khi chiefs caused beacon fires to be lighted when they wished to call the people together. (*See also* p. 196, note 8, and p. 219.)

sometimes dizzy and fainted without uttering a word; day after day he lay in his bed in a dying condition. In the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (1725), he was carried to his house in his native place, and died three days after he had reached home.

His tenure of office as native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of this district, and T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect) lasted altogether for two years only. During that time he had trouble within and without, and suffered so much that he was in tears all day, and held his head with his hands till he went to his grave. But the trouble had not been caused by Mu Chung himself. Whether he was right or wrong in his conduct is left to the judgment of his posterity, in fair conscience. He was born on the 17th day of the seventh moon of the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (August 24th, 1687), and died on the 30th day of the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (September 6th, 1725). On the 3rd day of the ninth moon of the 13th year of Yung-cheng (October 18th, 1735), by a special Imperial decree of grace, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ch'eng-te-lang 承德郎, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of An-jen 安人. She was named Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and was the daughter of sub-magistrate Kao 高同知, of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安. She gave birth to one son, named officially Mu Te 木德. His second wife, A-shih 阿氏, gave birth to two sons, named Mu Ming 木明 and Mu Chia 木嘉.

• • •

This closes the detailed account of the First Chronicle.

It is followed by the entire family tree of the Mu family beginning with Mu Te 木得, who lived from 1311 to 1390, and ending with Mu Te 木德 who was the last of the native prefects of Li-chiang. This is followed by a colophon the translation of which is at the end of the following chapter, the family tree for lack of space being omitted here.

THE HISTORICAL GENEALOGIES

CONTINUED FROM THE SECOND CHRONICLE

In order that the records of the Mu family be as complete as possible, the data missing in the First Chronicle are here supplied from the Second, though already partly translated and published in French by Edouard Chavannes.

TWENTY-FIFTH TO THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. — Mu Te 木德 (PLATE 37): His literary name was Fang-sheng 芳聲 and his given name Nien-tsu 念祖. He was the son of Yün-lin 雲林 (Mu Chung 木鍾). When the latter assumed his position, there appeared Aw-dshi-lër who lodged false accusations against him. This man succeeded in having the native magistracy abolished and Mu Chung's property confiscated by the government. All the property and gifts accumulated by their ancestors through many generations vanished completely. Mu Chung had no longer any home, and 40 days or so after having assumed the position of T'ung-p'an, in which he had been neither confirmed nor appointed, he died.

At that time Fang-sheng was nine years old in his home many had died, and he mourned bitterly.

He became hereditary T'ung-p'an at the age of nine, but his existence was precarious, his house like an empty jar, and he was poor and desolate. Yet he prospered and was apt and clever. Heaven gave him courage and understanding. He met Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕,[106] a *Chin-shih* 進士 of the city of Shih-p'ing 石屏,[107] who became his tutor and instructor. He studied the classics and readily grasped their meaning. His mother, Kao-shih, showed him all the ancient documents, ancestral papers and books which she had secretly preserved. He borrowed money and bettered the condition of his home, secured clothing and sufficient food. He consecrated all his efforts to retrieve his family after the reverses which had stricken it. When he was grown up and had gained both in courage and in knowledge, he submitted official reports to the different high provincial authorities, petitioning them to help ameliorate his condition. He went several times to the provincial capital, and thus wearied himself and nearly exhausted his energy. But he was not afraid of difficulties and dangers, and tried his best to create a favorable impression at official headquarters.

The viceroy invited him to an audience and granted him the native official farm and rice rent, in the form of 150 Imperial piculs of rice, and ordered him to visit [call upon] the Bureau of granary [at the four seasons] four times a year to take delivery. After that he had enough food for his morning and evening meal. He then obtained taxes in grain from the farms of Yung-pei, Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and La-pao 剌寶, and did not lose his office and influence. He trusted the profound grace of the viceroy, and obtained from the glorious Imperial court abundant help. Afterwards he subscribed towards the building of a Yü-yin lou 玉音樓,[108] where he prostrated himself to show his loyalty.

He repaired his residence and rebuilt the old ancestral hall to express his filial piety. He sold the copper utensils of his ancestors and gave the proceeds to the students, and defrayed their expenses to promote literature. All praised his moral qualities and profound instruction. After his death the Imperial Government bestowed on him the title of Hereditary assistant sub-prefect of Li-chiang 世襲麗江府通判. He lived to the age of 64. He was born in the 53rd year of K'ang-hsi, the 4th day of the fourth moon (May 17th, 1714), at the hour of noon. He died in the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung, the 7th day of the sixth moon (July 11th, 1777) at the hour of *ch'en* 辰 (7–8 A.M.). His wife was Kao-

---

[106] Wan Hsien-yen was a native of Shih-p'ing who became a *chin-shih* in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721). In the second year of Yung-cheng (1724) he came to Li-chiang. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), on account of his special excellence (*Cho-i* 卓異, *i.e.*, deserving of special merit) he was appointed to the magistracy of Ching-yen 井研 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[107] Shih-p'ing is now a magistracy in the district of Chien-shui (Lin-an 臨安), south of K'un-ming.

[108] There is a Yü-yin lou (tower) in Li-chiang. It stands to the left of the T'ung-p'an yamen. This particular tower was built in the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619) by Mu Tseng (19th generation) of the Mu family. — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 2, ch. 4, fol. 36a. Fang-sheng received from the throne an Imperial tablet on which were inscribed (carved) the 12 characters, *T'ien Yen Chih Ch'ih* 天顏咫尺, *Hsiung Wei Ch'i Li* 雄偉綺麗, *Chia Yü Tien Hsi* 甲於滇西, which may be translated: Close to the Imperial face (an intimate adviser of the Emperor, as close as a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches); magnificent and beautiful; and the best known in the west of Tien (Yün-nan).

173

shih-shun-ying 高氏順英, and she was the niece of Kao Hou-te 高厚德, native sub-prefect of Yao-an.[180] She was given the posthumous title of An-jen. To him were born two sons, the second was called Mu Hsiu 木秀, and he inherited his father's position. His first-born was Mu K'un 木坤, who died of illness at the age of 20, while at school.

Of some of the remaining generations only their names are known, of others their names, dates of birth, and death.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. — Mu Hsiu 木秀 (PLATE 38): His literary name was Chen-yo 鎮岳. Neither his date of birth nor death is given.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. — Mu Jui 木睿 (PLATE 39).

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. — Mu Han 木漢 (PLATE 40): His literary name was Ying-yün 映雲.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. — Mu Ching 木景 (PLATE 41): His literary name was Ching-yang 景陽 and his given name Shu-tung 樹東.

THIRTIETH GENERATION. — Mu Yin 木蔭 (PLATE 42): His literary name was Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭. He was born in the year *jen-hsü* 壬戌 of T'ung-chih (1862). He died in the eighth year of the Republic (1919).

THIRTY-FIRST GENERATION. — Mu Piao 木標: His literary name was Chien-i 建儀, and his given name Po-fan 伯藩. He was born in the year *chia-shen* 甲申 of Kuang-hsü (1884), and died in the 17th year of the Republic (1928).

THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION.— Mu Ch'iung 木瓊 (PLATE 43): His literary title is P'ei-ming 佩銘 and his given name Shao-fan 紹藩. He was born in the year *mou-shen* 戊申 of Kuang-hsü, the second moon and 2nd day (March 4th, 1908), at the hour of *mao* 卯 (5–7 A.M.). He is the present T'u t'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native assistant sub-prefect), but without any power whatsoever.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION. — Mu Sung-k'uei 木松奎, also written 嵩魁: He was born in the 18th year of the Republic, tenth moon, 7th day (November 7th, 1929), at the hour of *shen* 申 (3–5 P.M.).

[180] His ancestor was a certain Kao Chin 高金 who during the Ming dynasty became native sub-prefect. Kao Hou-te was the son of Kao Ying-hou 高映厚 who held the same position during the K'ang-hsi period. Kao Hou-te because of certain affairs was banished to Chiang-nan and the hereditary office ceased to exist. — *Yao chou chih*, ed. 1885, ch. 5, fol. 47a.

CHAPTER VII

COLOPHON AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF THE NA-KHI CHIEFS

COLOPHON TO THE FIRST CHRONICLE

P73 In examining the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) we learn that at the beginning, when Li-chiang first belonged to Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom), it possessed no definite name.

The ancestors of the Mu family originally lived in Tso Kuo 筰國[1] (Tso Kingdom); in the Chou 周 (1122–255 B.C.) and Ch'in 秦 (255–206 B.C.) dynasties there are no records about this family. Beginning with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) and Chin 晉 (265–420) dynasties, down to the T'ang 唐 (618–907), the family existed for many generations.

The Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi Kingdom) was originally one of the Liu chao (Six Kingdoms).

At the close of the Sung dynasty, there lived in the Mu family a man by the name of Mai-tsung 麥宗,[2] who was very wise and lived to a ripe old age. He was endowed by Heaven with special intellect. There are narratives of him in the records. As to his ability and virtue, he was superior to the rest of the people and was therefore honored by them all. Unfortunately, at that time there was not much cultural development among these people, and although this man possessed a virtuous character and had accomplished much, nothing has been recorded about him. He begot Liang 良; Liang begot Wu 兀; Wu begot Liang 亮; Liang begot Chia 甲; Chia begot Te 得.

In the Yüan dynasty, this family enjoyed peace, and its deeds filled many shining pages in its history. When the Ming dynasty was founded (1368) and the first Emperor selected Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking) as Imperial capital, Chia of the Mu family knew immediately that the divine order of the succession of the Imperial throne had been established. He therefore sent his son with a number of envoys to Nanking to offer a map of their native land.

---

[1] The Tso-tu Kuo was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷筰都國 (Tso-tu Kingdom of the western barbarians). Han Wu Ti incorporated that territory in his empire and established the district of Tso-tu (Tso-tu hsien 筰都縣). In the sixth year of the period Yüan-ting 元鼎 (111 B.C.) it became the Ch'en-li Chün 沈黎郡. During the Sui dynasty it was called Han-yüan 漢源, which is 30 li south of the present-day Ch'ing-ch'i 清溪, governed by Ya-an 雅安 (Ya chou 雅州) in Ssu-ch'uan. To-day it is again called Han-yüan hsien.

Ma Tuan-lin is more precise in his *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 320, fol. 5b, for he states that during the Han dynasty there were about 10 principalities north-east of Yüeh-sui 越嶲, of which the Tso-tu was the most powerful. He amplifies this by saying "the Tso-tu of Hsi 徙." Hsi was east of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州, the present-day T'ien-ch'üan hsien, west of Ya-an. Although in other works he is quoted verbatim, the character *Hsi* 徙 is omitted. In a note it states that Hsi was made a hsien (district) during the Han dynasty, belonging to Shu Chün 蜀郡.

[2] The Li-chiang Records state that Mai-tsung was a man from west of the borders of China and that he came to Li-chiang at the end of the reign of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1253). The natives elected him as their chief. His son met Kublai Khan's army in the first year of Pao-yu 寶祐 of Sung Li Tsung (1253).

[p. 154]

In the 15th year of the Ming dynasty (1382), Te acknowledged his allegiance to the Imperial rule, and T'ai Tsu, the first Ming Emperor, admiring his action, conferred on his family the surname Mu 木, and, by separate letters patent, granted him the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. Te then conquered the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge), guarded the Shih-men 石門 (Stone-gate Pass), and was given by the Emperor an official robe, a *hu* 笏 (tablet),[3] and a golden belt. 173

Te begot a son by the name of Ch'u 初. The latter joined the Meng-chien 蒙瞼 (the present Meng-hua hsien) Southern expedition, and succeeded in capturing the city of Lu-ch'uan (in the south), and opened Yung-ning 永寧 (in the north). He conquered Yen-ching 鹽井,[4] a salt-well in the east, and thus gained considerable military merit. The Emperor gave him a gold medal and a gold belt, and granted him the power to rule over the territory of the Jung 戎 tribe[5] (on the frontier).

Ch'u begot T'u 土, to whom the Emperor in a special order, granted his family the title of hereditary prefect to rule its native land. He authorized it only to proclaim the Imperial will to the people, who could not be conscripted for other places.

T'u begot Shen 森, who gained great military merit by joining the punitive expedition of Secretary of State, Wang Chi 王驥,[6] who attacked the city of Lu-ch'uan 麓川 and was then promoted by Imperial order to the honorary position of Ts'an-cheng 參政 (State adviser). On his ancestors, male and female, the Emperor conferred various posthumous honorary titles. The merit of this family was also made manifest by the Yün-nan governor Ting 丁.[7]

Shen begot Ch'in 欽; Ch'in begot T'ai 泰. They all bore the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, conferred on them by the Emperor. T'ai was a man of wonderful ability and thoroughly understood the science of divination according to the diagrams (*I Ching*, the Book of Changes), and Chinese philosophy. He was both martial and keen on literature. Thus he brought great glory and prosperity to his family.

---

[3] The *hu* was a tablet made either of bamboo, jade or ivory, and was held before the breast at audiences of the Emperor (GILES, *Chinese Dictionary* No. 4962).

[4] The present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[5] The Jung are considered the wild tribes of the west. There are many different clans, or rather, tribes, of Jung, among which the Na-khi were reckoned. The Hsi-jung (Western Jung) dwelled in north-western Kan-su and extended into the State of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) where they inhabited the district of Yüeh-sui 越嶲 and the ancient Ch'en-li [illegible] in Tso-tu Kuo (the present-day Han-yüan hsien 漢源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan).

The Hsi-i of the Tso-tu Kingdom are apparently identical with the Hsi-jung of Ch'en-li, for the territory is one and the same.

[6] Wang Chi later became viceroy of Yün-nan. He was a native of Shu-lu 束鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Ho-pei. His literary name was Shang-te 尚德. In the sixth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1441), the Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使 of Lu-ch'uan, by name Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, rebelled. Wang Chi was unable to suppress him at first. He attacked Lu-ch'uan three times, and only then routed the robbers and destroyed their stronghold — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fol. 13a.

[7] His name was Ting Hsüan 丁璿 and he was a native of Shang-yüan 上元 in Chiang-su (Kiangsu). He also fought Lu-ch'uan, after which he was promoted to a Senior vice-presidency of the censorate.

173

T'ai begot Ting 定, who helped his neighbouring districts by restoring peace; his merit was great, but he did not bring it to notice.

Ting begot Mu Kung 木公, whose old age was spent at the foot of the Hsüeh-shan 雪山[8] (Snow mountain). There he buried himself among his books, in order to understand thoroughly the ancient literary allusions. He and a man named Chang 張, who lived on the Yü Shan 禺山 near the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and a third man named Tso 左, living on the Huang Shan 黃山 of Meng-hua 蒙化, were known at that time as the Three famous mountain scholars. The T'ai-shih 太史 (Imperial historiographer), by the name of Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修,[9] and many other scholars were his most intimate literary friends.

His literary works were made known to the later generations, and his scholarly fame was respected throughout our kingdom. His military merit, achieved for the Imperial court, was so great that His Majesty the Emperor personally wrote for him [an inscription of] four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Peaceful defender of My frontier-land), and in addition the Emperor gave him many other rich gifts. He devoted much time to the compiling of two copies of his ancestral record, describing all the honorary titles and glorious deeds of his family, beginning from his first ancestor down to his son. He built an ancestral temple in honor and for the worship of his ancestors. These were two of the chief things he accomplished to express his filial piety. For his family record, Chang Chih-shun 張志淳, president of one of the six Imperial boards and native of Yung-ch'ang and Yang Shen 楊慎, Imperial historiographer and native of (Hsin-tu) Ch'eng-tu 成都, each wrote a preface.

Mu Kung begot Mu Kao 木高, who was also named Shou-kuei 守貴. From childhood, he was clever in strategy. At 31 years of age he extirpated the rebels and conquered the village of Hsiang-lo 香羅. Later, he gained a great victory over the village of Mao-ch'ü 毛佉, and completely defeated the T'u-fan 吐蕃. Then again he conquered Kan-t'ao 干陶, and established some villages at Wei-yüan 威遠. His father, Mu Kung, was so pleased with his heroic deeds that he took out the gold medals and gold belt, and many other objects given to his ancestors by the different Emperors of the successive dynasties, and handed them to him, saying: "Follow the examples of your ancestors, and be loyal to your nation."

When his father became a widower, Mu Kao selected a beautiful girl, and offered her to him as a concubine. His father was well pleased and on excellent terms with him. In this we find the cause of the good luck which attended him. On account of curing his father of his illness with flesh cut from his own

[8] The Li-chiang snow mountain is meant. At the foot of the range on its eastern slopes, north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is a large grove of spruce trees, the remains of a large forest which in the time of Mu Kung covered the region. There stood a residence, one of the 12 homes possessed by the Mu family. The place was and is still known as Kwuà-d'a. To-day a small temple with statues of Buddha stands beneath the spruces. The temple dates back to the Ming dynasty. The temple has lately been dismantled, the beautiful murals dating back to the Ming dynasty destroyed and the building converted into a forestry station.

[9] He is better known as Yang Shen 楊慎. It was he who wrote an introduction to the Chronicle of the Mu family. He had been banished for life to Yung-ch'ang in south-west Yün-nan. (See page 162.)

173 limb, his glory became known to the world. The Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, and the same posthumous honor was also conferred on his ancestors. Again, the Emperor sent him a message containing the following words of praise: "As to your fame and virtue, you have been both filial and loyal; with regard to your popularity and ability, you have been perfect, both in literary works and in military achievements." In the winter of *ting-mao* 丁卯 (1567), when he received the sad news of the death of the Emperor,[10] he lamented so much that he was unable to rise from his bed. In the following year he resigned from official life.

Mu Kao begot Mu Tung 木東, who was also named Chen-yang 震陽. In the 38th, year of Chia-ching (1559), Tung was ordered by his father to attack the Fan brigands 番寇, whereupon he defeated them completely. In the years *ping-yin* 丙寅 (1566) and *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 (1568), he repeatedly gained great military merit. His father gave him also many Imperial gifts, bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In the third year of Wan-li (1575), Mu Tung crossed the river Ta-ch'ung 打冲[11] (in Tso-so 左所 territory) to attack the Fan brigands of Ta-tu 大渡. The Emperor then permitted him to build an arch in his native place with the following characters carved on it: *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (My Northwestern barrier). He usually tried to investigate the condition of the farmers, and helped their husbandry with money. In his leisure hours, his parlour was full of guests and friends. He would be deeply interested in writing poetry and would indulge in drinking wine with all of his guests. In the year *mou-yin* 戊寅 (1578) he lamented so much over the death of his mother that he died in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 (1579).

Mu Tung begot Mu Wang 木旺, who was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Yü-lung 玉龍. In the fifth year of Wan-li (1577), Wang became the legal heir of his father. He was impetuous and terrible in his actions, and succeeded in completely defeating the Fan brigands. At the time when he assumed his official duties, the Wu-so 五所[12] secretly conspired against him. He quickly discovered their evil plans and destroyed them at once. After that, he became the more experienced and hardened in military service, wherefore he was able in his later life to conquer more territory. He was presented with an Imperial credential containing the following words of admiration: *Chung Kuo Heng Yüan* 忠國恆垣, "Your loyalty to your nation has been as strong as everlasting battlements."

Mu Wang begot Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生 and Ch'iao-yo 喬岳. Ch'ing was well versed in the Six Chinese Classics, and was very skilful in calligraphy, which he wrote on paper with the strokes of each character resembling the shape of "old pine-trees and ancient cranes." Hence the poetic name given him was Sung-ho 松鶴 (Pine-tree and the crane).

---

[10] The Emperor Shih Tsung (Chia-ching) died on January 23rd, 1567 (the 14th day of the twelfth moon of the 45th year of his reign) on returning from the Western Park to the Palace, in his 60th year.

[11] Ta-ch'ung Ho is the Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country of south-west Ssu-ch'uan; a branch of it is the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake. It flows into the Li-t'ang River which in turn flows into the Ya-lung. On the Chinese map of Yün-nan the Li-t'ang River does not exist and the Ta-ch'ung Ho flows into the Ya-lung.

[12] The Five So 所 (T'u-sso), in south-west Ssu-ch'uan, which see.

Immediately after he had assumed his official duties, he contributed considerable funds for military purposes. He was, however, very pessimistic and, travelling on the white clouds, he became an immortal, and his spirit is still known to exist.[13]

Mu Ch'ing begot Mu Tseng 木增, who was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, I-hsin [illegible] and Hua-yo 華岳. At the age of 11, he lost his father, and became the legal heir. In Wan-li *chi-hai* 萬曆己亥 (1599), he supplied food to the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰.[14] In the year *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1600), he helped the city of Po chou 播州 [15] in its difficulties.

In the year *jen-yin* 壬寅 (1602), he submitted a report to the Emperor about the affairs of West China and was commended by His Majesty. In the year *ping-wu* 丙午 (1606), he received an Imperial patent by which the Emperor conferred on his ancestors various posthumous degrees of honor. In the year *i-mao* 乙卯 (1615), his capture of the Three Tartar leaders (San-ta-k'uei 三[illegible]) and the Ssu-ma 司馬 (prefect), was recorded as worthy of merit. In the year *mou-wu* 戊午 (1618), he went to pay tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of celebrating the peaceful and blessed 46th anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Shen Tsung, who gave him many valuable gifts, and conferred on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen. Again, he opened up new land, and contributed the products therefrom for soldiers' rations required in Liao (Feng-t'ien). For this reason he was especially promoted to the position of an official of the third rank. In the year *keng-yin* (this should read *keng-shen* 庚申) (1620) he offered money to the Emperor to buy horses, whereupon His Majesty praised him with the two characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness). He then was ordered to exterminate Kao-lan 高蘭,[16] the rebel of Pei-sheng 北勝. He was then presented with a gold belt. In the period period T'ien-ch'i *jen-hsü* 天啓壬戌 (1622), the tribal chief She 奢 of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) revolted and Mu Tseng contributed funds towards his suppression. Hence he was given the additional honorary official title of the third rank, as well as a suit of official dress of the same rank.

He then applied to the Emperor for permission to retire from official life. He addressed to the Emperor a memorial containing ten suggestions in connection with awards; the memorial was composed in such a way that it might have been written by any great official of the Imperial court. Meanwhile, he requested the Emperor to allow him to offer sacrifice to the two great heroes,

---

[13] Tradition relates that he went up the Li-chiang snow range to a peak called Ho-san yi-gkv, a prominent limestone crag covered with snow, whence he never returned. Apparently he committed suicide. It is very common for the Na-khi to commit suicide on the snow range, especially lovers. Such couples committing suicide together are said in the Na-khi language to have committed *Yu-vu*. (See my article, "The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi" in *BEFE-O* T. XXXIX: 1939, pp. 1–155.)

[14] Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yüeh in south-west Yün-nan.

[15] Po chou is the present Tsun-i hsien 遵義縣 in Kuei-chou province.

[16] Kao-lan refused to recognize the authority of Kao Shih-ch'ang [illegible], the new chief of Pei-sheng, who had succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou [illegible], and rebelled; Mu Tseng took him prisoner and executed him. Kao-lan was a nephew of Kao Shih-mou who died in 1620.

Chang Ch'üan 張銓 and Ho T'ing-k'uei 何廷魁,[17] and also contributed funds to relieve the families of the generals and soldiers who had been killed on the battlefields. 173

The Emperor praised him with the two characters of *Chung Chin* 忠藎 (Loyal and Patriotic), and promoted his official position to Ts'an-fan 參藩 (Administrator of the frontier lands). In the year 1624 he bequeathed his official position to his eldest son. In the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625) he again contributed to the court additional funds for the pay of soldiers, and received then letters patent in honor of his grandparents. In 1627 he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, and applied accordingly for an Imperial banner in honor of his mother's chastity. The Tu-yü 都御 (Imperial censor) Min 閔 also sent a recommendation to the Emperor on his behalf. In the year *keng-wu* 庚午 (1630) he remitted considerable funds to assist in the military expenditure of Kuei-chou, and transported money for the pay of soldiers to the Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Minister in charge of the Board of agriculture).

In the year *hsin-wei* 辛未 (1631) His Majesty promoted him to the honorary position of Yu-fang-po 右方伯 (Junior provincial treasurer), and the same honor was also conferred posthumously on his ancestors for three generations back. As the district school in the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 was destroyed by fire, he contributed money to rebuild it. In the year *jen-shen* 壬申 (1632) the work of building this school was completed. In the year *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 (1637) he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, for which he was specially decorated by the Emperor. In the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1640) he was appointed as Tso-fang-po 左方伯 (Senior provincial treasurer). The Emperor issued an edict praising him with the following four characters: *I Tu Chung Chêng* 益篤忠貞 (Progressive, Faithful, Loyal and Upright), and gave him permission to build an arch in the capital city of this province, in memory of his deeds. But instead he saved the expenses required in building this arch and, in the year 1644, contributed the money to the court for soldiers' rations. When the Emperor Hung-kuang (1644)[18] ascended the throne in Nanking, he conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ch'ing 太僕卿 (Imperial grand steward). In the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (1645) both father and son, as well as other members of the Mu family, contributed funds for the pay of soldiers. Ch'en 陳, the Imperial messenger, sent a report to the Emperor on his behalf, whereupon the latter bestowed on both father and son various pieces of satin

---

[17] Chang Ch'üan 張銓 (this is the way the name is written in the *Ming Shih*) and Ho T'ing-k'uei are listed in that history under the characters *Chung I* 忠義. Mu Tseng also received these two characters, but he is not listed, probably because he was considered a barbarian.

Chang Ch'üan received the degree of doctor in 1604. He fought in Yün-nan under Fu Yu-te, especially at Yung-ning 永寧, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and P'u-ting 普定 in Kuei-chou, to suppress the aborigines. He was given the title of Marquis of Yung-ting 永定. Ho T'ing-k'uei was a native of the military station of Wei-yüan 威遠 in Shan-hsi (Shansi). He received the degree of doctor in 1601. He became a fu-magistrate in Ho-nan. He and another official, by name Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰, who would not obey him, lost the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 (Fêng-t'ien) to the Manchu army who attacked it. He took his seal and with his two wives jumped into a well; with him died six male and female servants (*Ming Shih*, ch. 291, fols. 2a and b).

[18] Hung-kuang 弘光 was a descendant of the last of the Ming Emperors who, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking, fled to Nanking where he set up his court.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 embroidered with Mahoraga and golden flowers (for ceremonial robes worn by mandarins).

Mu Tseng was born to be loyal, filial, benevolent and righteous. He honored his mother, named Lo 羅, and his wife's relatives, and respected worthy people. In his leisure hours, he was always seen with a book in his hand, reading. He was the author of various books, which were made known by the commendations of many scholars. Again, he applied to the Imperial court for the Fa-pao 法寶 (Treasures of the Law [Dharmaratna]) to pray for peace for the frontier. He printed many Tibetan Buddhist books and used them to teach the tribespeople. He built a temple on Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山,[19] and a bridge at Lu-feng 祿豐.[20]

Mu Tseng was both liberal and magnanimous and helped to build the road which led to Ssu-ch'uan. All his deeds of benevolence may be read in detail from the Family Record, whose preface has been written by Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, the Imperial historiographer. The legal heirs of the Mu family have succeeded one another as the rulers of this district for 27 generations, and their family has descended for 32 generations to the present Mu Yao. Mu Tseng had no brothers. His mother selected a virtuous wife for him, who gave birth to four sons.

Mu I 木懿, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's official position and was also named T'ai-mei 台美 [illegible] K'un-lun 崑崙. In the beginning of the period of T'ien-ch'i 天啓, in the year *chia-tzu* 甲子 (1624) he assumed his official duties. Whenever he had to deal with political questions, he did not venture to settle them alone without going to his father for advice. After the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625), when his father was getting on in years, he did his best to serve him according to the principle of filial piety. He carefully compiled the genealogy of his family, to manifest to its members the glory of their ancestors. This record is indeed the fruit of loyalty and filial piety and is the crystallization of the thought of its distinguished members. Its accomplishment is due to a long-sustained effort. I am now requested to write a postscript in continuation of the main record written by the Imperial historiographer Yang. As I am quite an ignorant man, I feel unworthy to accept this honor. Nevertheless, as I am now in the service of this family, and know very well that its members have been loyal and obedient subjects of the Imperial throne of the Great Ming dynasty, and because their heroic deeds of glory can easily be described in detail from what I have seen and heard, I should do my best to further this work, and dare not refuse to perform this duty. Although Li-chiang is a small, barren, and desolate land, yet its sovereignty has been kept in the hands of the Mu family without interruption from the Sung (960–1278) to the present Ming dynasty (1308–1644). Is it not because the ancestors of this family have been under the protection of Heaven?

---

[19] This is the famous sacred Buddhist Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 (Chicken-foot Mountain), which is also called Chiu-ch'ü Shan 九曲山 and is 40 li west of Pin-ch'uan hsien 賓川縣, adjoining the borders of T'ai-ho hsien and Teng-ch'uan hsien. Its summit resembles a lotus flower. Its name was derived from a sacred Buddhist mountain of India, the "Chicken-foot Mountain" (Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri), which is seven miles south-east of Gaya and known as the abode of Mahākāsyapa 摩訶迦葉尊, a disciple of Buddha and a native of Magadha. He is said to come at various intervals to dwell on Chi-tsu Shan, and in 1931 it was proclaimed he had taken up his residence on that mountain. Consequently, all the Tibetans of the neighbourhood, and the Na-khi from Yung-ning, flocked there on pilgrimage. At the foot of Ch'a-p'ing Shan 插屏山 (a part of Chi-tsu Shan) is a temple dedicated to Kāśyapa and containing his image, which was placed therein during the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755). The temple is called Chia-yeh Tien 迦葉殿 (Kāśyapa Hall) and also Chia-sha Tien, 袈裟殿 (Temple of the Buddhist priest's garment). Kāśyapa was one of the main disciples of Buddha, but according to another conception a forerunner of Gautama; he is said to lie undecayed in Mt. Kukkuṭa-pāda near Gaya. When Maitreya the coming Buddha will leave his palace he will betake himself to that mountain, will open it in a mysterious manner, and will there receive from Kāśyapa Buddha's robe. Thereupon miraculous fire will consume the undecayed body of Kāśyapa so that neither bones nor ashes will remain. (Grünwedel.)

Mu Tseng also built the Hai-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, which stands on the Man-yüeh Shan 滿月山 (Mountain of the full moon), in the year *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of Wan-li (1617). In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics and bestowed on his temple the name of Hai-t'an shan Ssu 悉檀禪寺. In 1629 he built the Fa-yün Ko 法雲閣, and in it placed the Classics. In 1631 his son Mu I added to it and embellished the temple so much that it was looked upon as the finest on the mountain. (The gate to the temple and the *ko* 閣 or pavilion were rebuilt by Mu Yao 木[illegible].)

Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko 華嚴閣, in a temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavilion. In 1597 the pavilion was destroyed by fire — *Chi-tsu Shan chih*, K'ang-hsi edition, 31st year, eighth moon (September 11th–October 9th, 1692), ch. 4, fols. 4b–5b.

[20] This bridge is called Ch'i-ming ch'iao 啓明橋 and is situated 15 li south of Lu-feng; it was built by Mu Tseng in the period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627).

• • •

"To the above record a colophon was written by Chu Kuei-lin 朱桂林,[21] Shang-tung provincial treasurer, descendant of the Prince of Lu (Shan-tung) and defender of the frontier, on an auspicious day of the third moon of the spring season of the year *mou-tzu* 戊子 of T'ien Wang 天王 (March 24th–April 23rd, 1648).

"Corrected by Liang Chih-chieh 梁之杰,[22] native of the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 and a scholar of the second degree in retirement, in the winter of the year *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1650)."

NOTE ON MU TSENG

The most outstanding and most progressive of the native prefects of Li-chiang was undoubtedly Mu Tseng 木增, who was and is best known in Na-khi as Muan-ssä-bä (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was always spoken of, however, as Mu T'ien-wang 木天王 (Celestial king Mu). He was born in 1587, took office in 1598, and died in 1646. He was a devout Buddhist, and welcomed the Karma-pa lamas, a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, who later established lamaseries in the Li-chiang district. He himself was initiated in the Buddhist monkhood, as a painting of him as a monk with rosary testifies; it is now in the

---

[21] Owing to the remoteness of Li-chiang and the lack of communication, the people of that distant region were not aware of the change of dynasty which had taken place four years previously to the date of the colophon.

Believing that the Ming dynasty, of which they had been loyal subjects, was still in power, but not knowing what Emperor had ascended the Imperial throne, the writer dated his colophon *Ta Ming T'ien Wang sui mou-tzu* (In the year *mou-tzu* [1648] of the Celestial King of the Great Ming dynasty).

[22] He became a *K'o* 科 (scholar of the second degree) in 1633.

173 possession of his descendants, the present Mu family of Li-chiang. It is a large scroll, beautifully painted in somber tones, and his figure is crowned by an image in gold of Amitabha (PLATE 44). A biography of him, written on scrolls, tells that although the Mu family had long been converted to Buddhism, it was Mu Sheng-pai who had acquired the highest spiritual achievement in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

On Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山, situated north-east of the Ta-li Lake in a range of mountains, he erected in 1615 a pavilion called the Ts'ang-ching Ko 藏經閣 in the temple Hua-yen Ssu 華嚴寺, in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, and erected in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien 萬壽殿 (Hall of Ten thousand ages). In 1628 he solicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall. In recognition of this service the monks of the Hsi-t'an Ssu consecrated a chapel to Mu Sheng-pai, which is known as the Chapel of Prefect Mu 木太守祠.

In the lamasery of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 (Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林; in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü) situated on Chih Shan 芝山, on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, and west of the village of Boa-shi, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街, is a small shrine with a statue of Mu Sheng-pai in a sitting posture.

He was a poet and an author, and was considered an excellent calligraphist. Unfortunately the printing blocks of his books, with many other objects of value, were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. The Mu family was able to save by hiding in caves only the most precious and valued objects, such as certain books written by him, and a few scrolls which testify to his ability as a calligraphist. Two of these scrolls are reproduced here (PLATES 45–46). They are signed Tseng 增 and Sheng-pai Tao-jen 生白道人 (Sheng-pai the Buddhist, seeking after *bodhi*, or enlightenment respectively). The two scrolls are not complimentary but represent two individual couplets. The scrolls read:

T'an K'ung K'o Hsi Hua Han Hsiao 談空客喜花含笑
Shuo Fa Seng Wen Niao Luan T'i 說法僧聞鳥亂啼

Seng Tsai Chu Fang Pan Lien Yüeh 僧在竹房半簾月
Ho Ch'i Sung Ching Man Lou T'ai 鶴棲松徑滿樓臺

THE SHRINE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER YANG SHEN 楊慎

Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, better known as Yang Shen and Sheng-an 升菴, was a great friend of the Mu family. He helped them with their family records and wrote an introduction to the Second Illustrated Chronicle.

Yang Shen was born in 1488 and was the son of Yang T'ing-ho 楊廷和, a minister of State. His native place was Hsin-tu 新都 in the prefecture of Cheng-tu 成都, capital of Ssu-ch'uan. At the age of 24 he was already a Chü-jen 舉人 (Provincial graduate Bachelor of Arts), the second literary degree. In the 6th year of Cheng-te 正德 (1511) he was first in the palace examination, and became historiographer in the Han-lin. He died at the age of 72, in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching (August, 1559) after he had lived the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle. 173

• • •

Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.[illegible] Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,[illegible] a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking). 778 173

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung tz'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).[illegible] The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

---

[illegible] The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li [illegible] of Kao-yao [illegible] (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan [illegible] (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan [illegible], more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan [illegible] (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

[illegible] Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-lung [illegible] (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o [illegible] (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bambooed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

[illegible] At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that Hai-chuang is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name Hai-chuang. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung [illegible], also Ch'ien Mu-ling [illegible], in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien [illegible], was a native of K'un-ming; during

778 had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's involuntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves: 173

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

173 "Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bambooed, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鏓 the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bambooed to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bambooing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 滇南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊介夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bambooed. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 雁門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正叔 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,[28] it is clear to us that he could not be

---

the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-wu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

[28] Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Ssu-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial honored with high official rank. Moreover, the previously mentioned incident was a matter which concerned the conventions of the State. Hence there would be nothing of importance for the historiographer to examine in a thousand autumns [years] to come. At the risk of his life he fought for right, even disregarding the relationship of father and son.

"He then entered the barbarian world like a vagrant and homeless man. He improved the savage customs and taught those wearing mallet-shaped hair-knots and dressed in colored clothes, to understand the respect due the Emperor and elders. The reason why Heaven decreed he should not die under the bamboo was in order that the people on the deserted and remote border might express their gratitude for his kindness.

"When Lord Yang was first exiled to Yung-ch'ang many people felt concern for him. Yet he peacefully discussed Chinese philosophy with barbarian boys of the Mien 緬 (Burma) and the P'o tribes 僰. He discussed with them the peculiarities of the various mountains and the seas in every corner. Sometimes, while wearing a double hair-lock and flowers, arrayed in a crimson gown and with a powdered face, he would talk about *Tao* 道 (the Way) and poetry with his pupils. This simply means that he gave thought to the 'orchid of the Hsiang 湘蘭' and the 'iris of the Li 澧芷.'[37] He wanted to follow the example of Ch'ü Yüan;[38] until now people have spoken of this as an interesting story.

"At the death of Wen-chung Kung (his father) Yang Shen received the Emperor's permission to return home to attend to his duties connected with the burial of his father. Later on, because he had earned the displeasure of a certain high official, he was ordered to return to Yün-nan. As a result he died a sad death.

"Alas! When literary men are in trouble, it is very difficult for them to pay

---

piety, of seducing nuns, etc. At first these attacks were unsuccessful, but at length he was deprived of all honors and of his official posts. He was later partly reinstated, but was too old to re-enter official life. He revised Ssu-ma Kuang's history, which under the title of *T'ung-chien kan-mu* 通鑑綱目 became the standard history of China. He was called K'ao-t'ing after the place where he resided. K'ao-t'ing was south-west of Chien-yang hsien 建陽縣 in Fu-chien (Fukien).

[37] The Hsiang is a large tributary of the Yangtse; it flows through Hu-nan. The Li is also a river of Hu-nan, being an affluent of the Tung-t'ing Lake. The allusion is to be found in the poem *Li-sao* 離騷 (Falling into trouble) written by Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, or Ch'ü P'ing 屈平.

[38] Ch'ü Yüan was a native of Ying 郢 in the ancient State of Ch'u (Hu-pei). He was born in 332 B.C. and died in 295. He is famous throughout China as the type of a loyal minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign until impeached through the intrigues of rivals. It was then he composed the famous poem *Li-sao*, which is an allegorical description of his search after a prince who will listen to good counsels in government. After he had sunk still deeper in disfavor, and being tired of life, he went to the bank of the Mi-lo River. There he met a fisherman who accosted him saying: "Are you not his Excellency the Minister? What has brought you to this pass?" "The world," replied Ch'ü Yüan, "is foul, and I alone am clean. There they are all drunk, while I alone am sober. So I am dismissed." "Ah!" said the fisherman, "the true sage does not quarrel with his environment, but adapts himself to it. If, as you say, the world is foul, why not leap into the tide and make it clean? If all men are drunk, why not drink with them and teach them to avoid excess?" The fisherman rowed away and Ch'ü Yüan clasped a big rock and plunged into the waters of the Mi-lo 汨羅. — From Giles, *B. D.*, No. 503.

173 heed to their own fame and fidelity. Although Yang Shen was both clever and wise, he was unable to hold his position as historiographer.

"Confucianism was poorly developed in the barbarian and deserted borderland. As soon as Yang Shen took upon himself the responsibility of educating the people, the literary men of Yün-nan began to esteem politeness and righteousness. They offered sacrifice to Lord Yang at Pi-yao 碧嶢[19] and established a Shu-yüan 書院 (College) there in his memory, in order that the spirit of Lord Yang may roam at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧雞山 (Jade-fowl Mountain)[20] and not vanish into the void in the Liu chao 六詔 [the six kingdoms which comprised Nan-chao 南詔], like vapor or creepers in the wild fields.

"Is it not true that Heaven spared him and decreed for him to lay the foundation of Confucianism [in Yün-nan] for hundreds and thousands of years to come?

"From the year *chia-yin* 甲寅 (1674) onward the rebellious Fan [Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled that year against the Ch'ing dynasty] savages had recklessly outraged all rules of propriety. The borderland was ravaged by wolves [troops or savages] and fire. Mountains, rivers, grass and trees, temples and pagodas in Yün-nan were destroyed. Even the place where the spirit of Yang Shen lived was overgrown with filbert trees, weeds, thorn-bushes, and ravaged by wild fire and will-o'-the-wisp.

"Long after the suppression of the rebellion the Chih-fu 制府, Lord Fan 范[21] of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden) was ordered to take charge of the South-west. He visited all the mountains, rivers, famous places, mysterious regions and relics of Yün-nan. While passing by the ruins of Pi-yao and making inquiries at the gravestone of the Mao family 毛氏, he saw the grave of Yang Shen[22] among the ruined and fallen walls. As he stood there meditating sorrowfully on Lord Yang's loyalty, simplicity, intelligence and fidelity, he could not help recalling the time when Lord Yang knelt on the ground at the Tso-shun palace gate.

"Thereupon Lord Fan engaged workmen and collected material for the construction of a hall. He bought a portrait of Yang Shen on which he inscribed a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies. 173

---

[19] The word *Pi* refers to Pi-chi Shan, the Jade-fowl Mountain famous in Yün-nan history, and the word *Yao*, pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan, refers to the village Kao ch'iao 高嶢, near which the temple and ancestral hall is situated at the foot of Pi-chi Shan.

[20] The Pi-chi Shan and its counterpart, the Chin-ma Shan (Gold horse Mountain), are famous in Yün-nan. The range from the village of Kao-yao (ch'iao) to the Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, commonly called Hsi Shan 西山 (Western hills), is known as Pi-chi Ta-shan 碧雞大山 (Great Pi-chi Mountain). There is also a Kao-yao Shan 高嶢山 which is to the right of Pi-chi Shan and actually a part of it. The shrine of Yang Shen, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 12, fol. 10a, is at the foot of Kao-yao Shan.

[21] Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳 was a Chinese Yellow-bordered bannerman. In the 25th year of K'ang-hsi (1686) he became viceroy of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He left Yün-nan in 1704 to take up a higher post at the court. He died in 1714.

[22] Yang Shen is, however, not buried in Yün-nan. His body was taken back to his native place Hsin-tu in Ssu-ch'uan. According to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 385, fol. 18b, his grave is to the right of that of his grandfather Yang Ch'un 楊春, one li west of the city of Hsin-tu, outside the Hsi Kuan 西關 (West Pass), where his father is also buried. The burial-ground is several li in circumference. See also the *Hsin-tu hsien chih*, ed. 1926, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 許, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

> "Written by Wang Chao 王照, native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-pei], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Tz'u 太史祠, *Shrine of the Historiographer*
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高嶢村, west of the city of Yün-nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Pu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor), during the Wan li period (1573–1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K'ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen. 172 173

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po-nan 博南, Lan-chin 蘭津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧. He had many 173

He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 廕生 (Honorary Licentiate).

Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 in Ssu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙陽 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan at an elevation of 7,500 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

173 different lodgings. Wherever he stayed he le[illegible] and encouraged young people. Thus the scholars of Yün-nan all tried to follow his example. Even after his death they continued to admire him and offered sacrifices to him at the foot of Pi-chi Shan, where Yang Shen had built a house for himself to carry on his literary activities. As time went on, the hall fell into neglect, although it had been repaired many times.

"After I took up my residence in this land, I inquired about the remains of Chai-hsien [illegible]* and mourned the ruins of Hai-chuang [illegible], the villa by the sea. Seeing that they had almost vanished, I became quite sad. Thus I ordered Lord Yang's shrine to be rebuilt on the right side of P'u-hsien Ssu. . . . After it had been completed I wrote of it as follows:

Ssu [illegible]. In that temple, situated in a large grove of wild chestnuts (*Castanopsis*), on the lonely slopes, far away from any human habitation, I spent a very peaceful night from October 2nd to the morning of October 3rd, 1922. Here in the court of the temple grew a large magnoliaceous tree which proved to be a new species: *Michelia lanceolata* Wilson.

The temple dates from the Ming dynasty, as an old bell cast during that dynasty, and hanging in the vestibule of the temple, testifies. Two large stone-tablets stand to the left of it. On the main tablet is inscribed the same story which occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 下, fol. 69a, about the song "Singing while crossing the Mekong" (*Tu Lan-ts'ang ko* [illegible]). In the *Shui-ching chu* [illegible] it is said that in the time of Han Ming Ti (58–75) a road was opened over the Po-nan Shan to where the Mekong could be forded. Travellers thought it difficult and thus sang the following: "The virtue of the Han dynasty was so far-reaching that for the benefit of others a road was opened to the wild regions over the *Po-nan* Shan via Lan-chin to where the Mekong could be forded."

The memorial stone further states that the mountain is also called Chin-lang [illegible], and that another but wrongly applied name is Ting-tang Shan [illegible]. This name also appears in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edit. 1894, ch. 98, fol. 9a. There it relates that the temple used to be situated on the summit of that mountain, and that it was built by the Buddhist priest Shu Ch'ang [illegible]. In the 36th year of K'ang-hsi (1697) the magistrate Ch'eng I [illegible] removed the temple to a terrace on the slopes of the same mountain. Yang Shen himself, according to the memorial stone, confirms that the name Ting-tang Shan is incorrect. At the end of the Ming dynasty, we learn from the same stone, that Prince Chin [illegible] (Sun K'o-wang [illegible]) and Li Ting-kuo [illegible] (an adopted son of the robber Chang Hsien-chung [illegible]) fought Manchu troops on this mountain. In the reign of Ming Yung-li [illegible] (1647) Chin Wang inscribed four characters on a wooden tablet: *Ning Hsi Ch'an Ssu* [illegible], "Buddhist temple of the peaceful West."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 14, fol. 15a, states: "According to the old *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the mountain is situated 45 li west of Yung-p'ing hsien [illegible]. It is also called Chin-lang tien [illegible], and is commonly misnamed Ting-tang Shan [illegible]. It is 20 li high and has many steep slopes and cliffs. It serves as an important passage to the Western Frontier. The hsien of Po-nan was named after it during the Han dynasty. It is the present Yung-p'ing hsien. The *Ming I-t'ung chih* [illegible] says: "It is the mountain over which Han Wu Ti [140–87 B.C.] opened a road. The P'u man [illegible] (P'u savages) go in and out of their land by way of this mountain. In ancient days the Nan-chao Kingdom sent a general on a punitive expedition against Burma. His soldiers sent back gold and other treasures over this mountain where they were met by robbers. After the death of the general a temple was built called the Chin-l[illegible]-tien shan-shen Ts'u [illegible]. At the foot of its northern slope is a spring which is the source of the Hua-ch'iao Ho [illegible] (*Flower bridge River*)."

The *Tien-lüeh* [illegible] says: "On the mountain is an iron column." Lan-chin refers to the ford on the Mekong previously mentioned, while Ts'ang-erh refers to the Ts'ang Shan west of Ta-li, and the Erh Hai or Ta-li Lake. *Chin* is the first word in the name of the Golden horse Mountain, Chin-ma Shan, to the east of K'un-ming, and *Pi* is the first word in the Pi-chi Shan (Jade-fowl Mountain) at the foot of which Yang Shen had built himself a house.

* *Chai-hsien* means to be banished to earth from heaven; this has reference to Yang Shen's banishment from the Imperial court to the savage regions of south-western Yün-nan.

"'Pi-yao College was originally the name given by Lord Yang to the villa of the Mao family. The villa exists no more. But as the mountain has not changed its color, and the place has not changed its name, I give the name of the former villa to the shrine, thereby commemorating the fidelity of Lord Mao.'"

Quoted from the inscription on a large memorial stone walled-in in the south enclosure of the court of the shrine. The beginning of the text is somewhat hidden by the wall, and the stone is cracked in three places. The same text can, however, be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 88, fols. 27b–28b.

source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku, and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 羅鍋箐. 361 101

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 魯甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion. 173 634

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

173
634

any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1650 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b–35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.[5] Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 濮獦蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 巂州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越析麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿良 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三賧管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 筰國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 樣渠頭 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960–1252) the P'u-hsieh man[6] dwelled there. [Apparently in

---

[5] E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative seat of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

[6] These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the 193
Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618–626.] They were
ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again 634
gained the upper hand."

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101–1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

---

the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man [illegible]. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man [illegible] and Hsieh-man [illegible].

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "*so*" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like hsi, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "*man*" (not man = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as *Wu-man* = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult: the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo-so origin. A modified Muan-bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former only can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Chao, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

173
634

golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (see Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'iu-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高慶, who was the son of Kao Seu 高壽, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木森 (1434–1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

103 thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

173 The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionnaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b. "*Tribus et regiones nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yunnan. cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49; also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902), p. II, states that strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndêr-khyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

173
814 The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

---

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Koenige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet (Lamaism)*, p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang [illegible], of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an [illegible]), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yuan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang [illegible], also called A-liang [illegible], was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan [illegible]. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-hsieh tribe dwelled there.

may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given. 173 814

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel[30] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618–913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北嶽廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[31] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wùa-wùa (A-wu-wùa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wùa in La-shih-pa 剌是壩, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth. [179]

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His 173

---

[30] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[31] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde རྒྱ་སྡེ. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ěr Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a
• 173 fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

173
782
539

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realised that their repentance came too late. 173 782 539

---

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-s[illegible] Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪[illegible]嶽安邦景帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of [illegible] Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hai-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[20] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and, mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rainstorm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

---

[20] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

346 982 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hai 黃綺海 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 61). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

T'ang dynasty (779), I-mou-hsün [illegible] removed to the town of Yang-chien-chü [illegible] [illegible] and changed the name of the year to Shang-yüan. It was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty that the name of Pei-yo (North sacred Mountain) was bestowed on the Jade-dragon. He is prayed to under the name of 'Auspicious god spirit of Yo.'

"Therefore a temple was built at the foot of the mountain. When the chiefs, officials, and peasants humbly worshipped in the temple, the god was always efficacious and answered every prayer. The temple stood majestically, its hall high and deep, in a dense forest, striking awe in everybody who beheld it. All people made obeisance to the god. In the year *i-wei* 乙未 of Chia-ching of the Ming dynasty (1535), our prefect Mu Kung, having perceived a supernatural vision, engaged workmen to rebuild the temple, making everything look as new. This was only achieved through the devoted sincerety of our Prince.

"Oh! sacred god! Bless our people, defend our territory and protect the descendants of the Mu family for hundreds of thousands of years, so that they may continue to worship thee just as we do in the present day."

"Written on an Auspicious Day in the Spring,
By the Prefect Mu Kung" [illegible]

The second memorial stone.—This stone, dating from 1748, is entitled: Tablet recording the dedication of sacrificial fields of the Pei-yo Temple:

"The snow mountain stands straight through the clouds. [Clothed] with perpetual snow, it is the most wonderful view in Yün-nan. It is well known that this mountain has been miraculous. Since the name Pei-yo was conferred upon it by the Yüan dynasty, the border region has been glorified by the presence of another Heng Shan 衡山 [the author means the North sacred mountain of Shansi]. In the Ming dynasty the Mu family was appointed by the Throne as hereditary lords of the land, to guard this territory and to be responsible for the offering of sacrifices in the temple in recognition of military exploits. It is traceable from tradition that the power of the god was often relied upon in the defense and development of the territory. The present

---

[illegible] I-mou-hsün the sixth ruler of the Nan-chao Kingdom, ascended the throne at the age of 24 in the 13th year of Ta-li (778) and the following year changed the title of his reign to Chien-lung 見龍 and afterwards to Shang-yüan 上元. The inscription states that this happened in the 14th year of Tai Tsung; now the 14th year of Ta-li commenced on January 22nd, 779, and did not end until February 12th, 780; so it is possible, as no definite date is given, that it could have been in the beginning of 780. His capital was the present Ta-li.

[illegible] This is synonymous with Yang-chü-mieh 羊苴咩 and Yang-chien, which is the present Ta-li.

[illegible] It was the custom, even to the present time, for the ruling T'u-ssu (chief) of the Na-khi to come to the Pei-yo Temple on the 8th day of the second moon to worship Sa-ddo. In olden days when the Na-khi chiefs were the native prefects of Li-chiang, and they came to the temple to worship, none of the peasants were allowed to remain in the neighborhood, still less in the temple. It is believed that Sa-ddo was born in the sheep year, and so on a sheep day in the second moon the Na-khi peasants flock to the temple by the thousand. Much wine is drunk and many brawls ensue, as gambling takes place on that day.

[illegible] He was born in 1494, began his rule in 1527 and died in 1553.

F13 Emperor made the frontier region a cultured place, and changed the tribespeople to a cultured race. Just and upright officials followed one another. A city wall and offices were built, farming and planting of mulberry trees were encouraged. If rain impeded work, or a drought brought hardship on the farmers, the god was always beneficent whenever prayers were offered. A rule was therefore made to sacrifice to him in the spring and autumn in token of the people's indebtedness to the deity.

"I am a mediocre and rustic native. In the reign of K'ang-hsi, in the winter of *chi-hai* 己亥 (1719), I was under orders of Governor Chiang 蔣 to lead the native troops and follow the vanguard of Lieutenant-general Wu Yung 伍雍 to Chung-tien to ascertain the condition of the road. In the year of *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1720), I was promoted to second captain. I led more than 500 native soldiers to follow Lieutenant-general Wu Wu 伍異 in the western campaign and approached Lo-lung-tsung 洛隆宗. Then an Imperial decree was received to the effect that the insurgents be pacified along the highway between Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦岡[29] and Kung-pu 工布; that roads be built and that food supplies be escorted. Upon the return of the troops I had a boat-bridge made at the Mu-lu 木魯 ferry.

"In the spring of *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 (1724) of the reign of Yung-cheng, I was instructed by governor Kao 高 to lead the native troops to co-operate with Commander Ho 郝 in advancing westward as far as Chia-lang 甲浪,[30] whence we were ordered to proceed to Ch'a-wa-peng 察哇崩 [and] Ta-pa-shu 打巴樹 to deal with the rebels. After the rebel chieftain Chia-sung-weng 加松翁 and his followers were executed, I moved back to Ch'a-mu-tao 察木道.[31] In the autumn of the year *i-ssu* 乙巳 (1725), I was promoted garrison commander and had charge of the regular troops. I had hardly withdrawn the troops when the governor's order again came in *ping-wu* 丙午 (1726) that I lead troops to follow Brigadier-general Nan 南 in taking up the garrison post at Ch'a-mu-tao. We did not return until the summer of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (1729). 173

---

[29] Lo-lung-tsung 洛隆(龍)宗 (in Tibetan Lho Dzong [illegible] or Lho-rong Dzong [illegible]) is the farthest west that Ho Kuo-chu, our tribal captain, penetrated with his Na-khi troops. It is on the main highway to Lha-sa from Chha-mdo (Ch'ang-tu 昌都) and west and south of the Salween (the Salween flows here east and then south). Ch'a-wa-kang is to the east of Lo-lung-tsung 730 li distant. From A-tun-tzu in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan to Ch'a-wa-kang is a distance of 1,188 li.

The territory of Kung-pu is south-east of Chiang-ta 江達, the present T'ai-chao 太昭. It is under the control of a T'u-ssu (chief) and is west of the old Tibet — Hsi-k'ang border, and north of the Ya-ru-tsang-po (Ya-ru-gtsang-po), the Chinese Ya-lu-tsang-pu Chiang 雅魯藏布江, which becomes the Brahmaputra.

The Mu-lu ferry our captain mentions is identical with the Mu-lung 木籠 of the maps. It is on the left bank of the O-i River 諤宜河, the Ui Chhu (written Dbui Chhu) of the Tibetans, a tributary of the Salween in the south-easternmost province of Tibet, Tsha-wa-rong [illegible].

[30] The *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, fols. 117b–119a, gives the stages from A-tun-tzu to Ch'a-wa-kang: A-tun-tzu to Mereshü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), 160 li; thence to Chia-lang, 230 li; thence to Pi-t'u 必兔, 120 li, and to Ch'a-wa-kang, 678 li, a total of 1,188 li. One road leads from Chung-tien, Yün-nan, to Tibet via Peng-tzu-lan, Ch'a-wa-peng and Lo-lung-tsung.

[31] Ch'a-mu-tao is identical with Ch'a-mu-to 察木多, or Ch'ang-tu 昌都 [its ancient names were K'o-mu 喀木 and K'ang 康], the Tibetan Chhab-mdo (Confluence of [two] waters). It is situated in the triangle formed by the two branches of the Mekong; the eastern branch is called Tsa-ch'u Ho 雜楚河, and the western branch Ang-ch'u Ho 昂楚河, the word *ho* (stream) is superfluous, for the word *ch'u* is equivalent to *chhu*, the Tibetan for river. They are the Dza Chhu and Ngom Chhu of the Tibetans, the former being the real Mekong and the latter a tributary. South of the confluence, in Yün-nan, the river is called La Chhu.

"In the autumn of the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 (1730), Governor Ngo [O] 鄂 started a campaign to extirpate the insurgent Lo 猓 [Lo-lo] of Wu-tung 烏東 [Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and Tung-ch'uan are meant], and I was again ordered to coöperate with Commander Chang 張 at Tung-ch'uan and to recapture Ch'iao-chia 巧家.[32] We pursued the rebels to the Niu-lan Chiang 牛欄江,[33] where we built a bridge and crossed at night. We reached Wu-meng 烏蒙[34] and Lu-tien[35] 魯甸 and captured the rebel chief Weng Chü-tsu 翁苴卒 and others. After that our troops were stationed at Tung-ch'uan until the spring of *hsin-hai* 辛亥 (1731), when we returned.

"During the autumn of the year *jen-tsu* 壬子 (1732), Governor Kao ordered me to lead the native troops to follow Brigadier-general Yang 楊 to proceed to Hsin-p'ing 新平[36] to capture fortresses. We searched the mountains and fought the rebels at Man-kan-pa 漫干壩[37] and defeated them. In the winter I was again ordered to mobilize troops to coöperate with Major Ha 哈 in marching down to Ssu-mao 思茅 and Pu-erh 普洱.[38] We advanced to Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江[39] and attacked Meng-lieh 猛烈[40] and La-tsung 臘總. We at last captured the lairs of the robbers. It was not until the autumn of the next year that we returned in triumph.

"Now, incompetent as I am, I have been frequently cited for military exploits in the South-west. These could not have been accomplished had it not been for the prestige of the country and the bravery of the tribal troops. When we slept during snowy nights, using our spears for pillows, or when we attacked fortresses on a malarial river, the god was said to have appeared at our

---

[32] Tung-ch'uan is in eastern Yün-nan and Ch'iao-chia in the Tung-ch'uan district, is situated on the east bank of the Yangtze which here forms the border between Yün-nan and Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, the independent Lo-lo country in Ssu-ch'uan.

[33] The Niu-lan Chiang forms the border between the Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung magistracies in eastern Yün-nan. The river has its source near Yang-lin 楊林 and flows into the Yangtze near Hsiao-niu-lan 小牛欄.

[34] Wu-meng is the present Chao-t'ung. It was thus called in the T'ang dynasty (618–906) and was inhabited by Man or Lo-lo tribespeople. In the Ming dynasty it was called Wu-meng fu and belonged to Ssu-ch'uan. It became Yün-nan territory in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) and became known as Chao-t'ung in the ninth year (1731).

[35] Lu-tien is south-west of Chao-t'ung, near a small lake called Ma-ch'ang Hai 馬廠海.

[36] Hsin-p'ing is directly north of Yüan-chiang 元江, south-west of K'un-ming.

[37] Man-kan-pa, also called Man-kan, is north-west of Hsin-p'ing between two spurs of the Ch'e-ts'ung Mountains [illegible]山.

[38] Ssu-mao and Pu-erh are two stages apart in the southern part of Yün-nan.

[39] Chiu-lung-chiang is equivalent to Ch'e-li 車里, inhabited by Tai or Shan people on the Mekong in the Hsip-song-pa-na near the Burmese border.

[40] Meng-lieh is on the Mekong, but in Burmese territory and north of Meng (Muang) Hsing in French Laos.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 critical moments, in the form of white horses, and sometimes to have assisted us with supernatural banners and soldiers. There were countless occasions when the god manifested his miraculous power. When we fought the rebels close to their lairs at La-tsung, they tried to assail our camps at night. They said themselves that they were prevented from approaching our camps by a a god with a long beard and round eyes, leading ferocious beasts around the camps.

"There were many Chinese as well as tribal soldiers in our ranks who also saw the miracle. They unanimously realise that it was the appearance of the god of the sacred mountain. I am further convinced that what I had heard was not inaccurate after all.

"When the heavenly soldiers saved our people from floods and drought, there was already established the practice of regular worship in the temple. I myself have been sheltered on numerous occasions, so how can I forget the kindness of the god? I therefore dedicate to him two fields adjacent to the temple. The fields are situated in Shan-jen li 山人里[61] bordering on K'ai-mai 開買[62] on the east, the field of Ho Ts'e-pao 和策寶 [Ho-mbü-bo is the Na-khi name] on the south, and to the rear of the field of Ho Pao-shan 和寶山 on the north-west.' Every year the amount of 0.034 silver taels shall be paid to the priest Ho Ti-chu 和地住 [this is a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ho-ddü-dzu] of the temple. The fields shall be cultivated and the proceeds therefrom shall be spent in keeping lamps (lighted) in the temple. In this way the illustrious virtue of the god may be perpetuated with the snow mountain.

"Written on an auspicious day in the spring in the 13th year of *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 in the reign of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty (1748)."

> "Reverently written by Ho Kuo-chu 和國柱, of the Prefecture of Li-chiang, second captain of the tribal troops, promoted one rank for meritorious military services and with two Records of Merit."

This translation shows how far the Na-khi troops were sent under their officers to fight, not only in the snow mountains of Tibet, but also in the malarial regions of Burma, and in the eastern and southern-most parts of Yünnan.

[61] The words Shan-jen-li are a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ssaw-zhi-llü.

[62] This is a transcription of the Na-khi words, K'a man = the tail-end of the ravine.

*133 hardly ever be persuaded to spend the night there. They are even afraid to
*137 cross that place alone by day. When escorting the spirits of their ancestors north, to their ancestral homes where the cranes lay their eggs, in the distant grass-lands of the Ko-ko Nor, they believe that if their souls once pass Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho all is well. The cave and narrow ravine which leads north out of Mbĕr-ò-gko-ho is called Ds'i-p'a 'a-k'o (Goat-face cliff cave). Beyond the cave was in ancient days a huge forest; the place is still known as Mbĕr-ò-bi-mä (Vast forest of Mbĕr-ò). The trail, lined by pines and spruces, now merges into a white, rocky road, full of clinker-like limestone; this is called Nga-ba lv-t'khye-ō (Narrowing stony throat of Nga-ba). A short distance beyond we emerge onto the southern end of Nga-ba, covered with pines and spruces.

4. NGA-BA DEPRESSION

Nga-ba is a large basin-like depression at the foot of the eastern slopes of the snow range at an elevation of 10,500 feet. It extends from the northern slopes of the Sa-ba moraine to the edge of Pai-shui 白水 or Gyi-p'ĕr k'a (not to be mistaken for the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a of the western slopes) (PLATE 79).

Nga-ba, once the bed of an ice lake, is now usually dry, except in summers of unusual rain when the greater part becomes a beautiful blue sheet of water in which the snow range is reflected (PLATE 80). Nga-ba is over two miles in length and bounded on the east by forested limestone hills, the trees being mainly pines. To the west of the basin are great forests of pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which merge into dense forests of spruces, *Picea likiangensis* of large size predominating. These in turn give way to forests of larches (*Larix Potaninii*), with undergrowth of *Arundinaria*, or cane-brake, a small slender bamboo, rhododendrons, etc. Above the larches are patches of *Abies Forrestii*, easily distinguished by their dark foliage.

The region of pine forests is known as Nga-ba t'o-k'o (*t'o*, pine tree, *k'o*, land, ground); the slopes forested with spruce and larch are called Llü-na-bi-gkv (Where the forests of the black spruces are) these forests furnish the Na-khi with timber used in the construction of their houses. The pine and larch logs are transported on very primitive two-wheeled contrivances (PLATE 81).

173 It was on this meadow that the Hli-khin̲[7] and Hsi-fan warriors of Yung-ning camped with their chiefs ready to attack Li-chiang. Tradition relates that the sister of one of the Na-khi chiefs,[8] who was given in marriage to the chief of the Hli-khin̲ tribe, instigated the attack, suggesting the day of Ch'ing-ming 淸明[9] when all the male Na-khi would be away visiting the graves to

---

[7] The Hli-khin̲ (people of Hli, or Hli dü, or Yung-ning) are a branch of the Na-khi speaking a Na-khi dialect (*see* section on Yung-ning).

[8] It was Mu Ting who gave one of his four sisters, the eldest, called Mu Shih-hsien 木氏先, to the Yung-ning chief, A-ch'o 阿綽, in marriage. In the chronicle it relates that Mu Ting conquered Yung-ning between 1521–1523, and this would coincide with the Yung-ning Chronicle, in which it is stated that the chief A-ch'o came to power in the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (1484), succeeding his elder brother. The name *Boa-shi*, however, dates back to the Sung dynasty (*see* Chapter III, 4), and therefore the incident here related must have happened much earlier.

[9] Ch'ing-ming falls either in the second or third moon, oftener in the third moon, usually about April 5th. On that day the people visit the graves and make food offerings to their

173 worship their dead. The Hli-khin and Hsi-fan people came down from the north and camped at Nga-ba, which the Hli-khin people call Gha-ba dü. A great mounted host had assembled on this huge meadow and before the attack staged a war dance, dressed in armor (PLATE 82) and bearing swords, lances, cross-bows and poisoned arrows. Below Nga-ba, on the northern end of the plain, is 'A-lo, or 'A-man-ndv, the plain covered with razor-sharp limestone outcroppings resembling a rough lava flow (*see* p. 220). Their charge, at 'A-lo was delayed by the sharp rocks which cut the feet of their horses, laming them. The delay lost them the battle, for when they arrived twenty li north of Li-chiang they were met by the Na-khi chief's army and annihilated, every Hsi-fan being decapitated. The place is known to this day as Boa-shi (Dead Boa, or Hsi-fan) and the scene of the decapitation is called Lv-wùa-k'ö (Place where the rocks are piled up). For every decapitated head a stone was thrown on the spot, till a considerable pile accumulated; the tumulus still exists. Another Lv-wùa-k'ö lies one li south of the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un) and is also known as Ḳhü-wùa-k'ö (*ḳhü* = lake), referring to the immense pool of blood of the executed.

The Na-khi chief then brought his traitorous sister to Li-chiang. On the artificial islet of Yü-hu Ḳhü, or Bi-ndu Ḳhü, he imprisoned her in a cage, feeding her with dry barley flour, but giving her no water whatever: surrounded by water she died of thirst. So much for historic events in Nga-ba.

*133 *137 Several spurs with intervening meadows separate Nga-ba from the northern end of the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain. The first peak, a massive limestone mountain, which flanks the southern end of Nga-ba on the west, is the same which guards the entrance to Sa-balo-gkv, namely Ch'wua-lo-gku; it once bore a glacier on its eastern face. Behind the latter is a still higher mountain mass which I have named Sa-ba nv-lv (PLATE 79). At its foot in the spruce forest issues a spring and a streamlet which disappears underground on its way down the hill-side. The spring is called Gyi-k'aw-k'ö of Llü-na-bi-gkv.

*137 *133 *487 The trail, which leads through the forest on the middle slopes of the mountain, passes a small meadow called Bpü-gkaw-k'o-man below a small valley and spring known as Bpü-gkaw-gkv-k'wuà. Between the main peak and the nameless mountain mass is a ravine densely forested with fir at its apex; the ravine and meadow with luscious grass where the shepherds herd their flocks of sheep, are called Ō-hăr ba (Turquoise meadow), while the spur separating it on the north from Pai-shui bears the name Ō-hăr mbu-gkv (Turquoise spur) and overlooks the glacier valley Pai-shui.

On the eastern mountain slopes of Nga-ba there is a meadow called Nga-ba tsi-mä gko, east of the trail leading to the hamlets of Nga-tz inhabited by Na-khi as well as Miao-tzu 苗子. The latter are immigrants from Kuei-chou. From the northern end of Nga-ba a trail leads through forest, after crossing a ravine which issues from the mountains to the east of Nga-ba and is called Nga-ba lua-mba-k'o. There Tibetans often camp and herd their yak, selling the butter in the Li-chiang market.

---

dead. The Na-khi buried the ashes of their cremated dead, and placed a stone before the circular mound.

prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, cov- 487*
ering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula* 133*
Derbiana) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily. 137*

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 634
li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han
dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the 173 ●
district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) 131
it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes).

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (*ch.* 117, *fol.* 20*a*)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross 634
error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 173
245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.]

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大匱 [the Li-chiang records

---

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

634 173 state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.[4] In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĚR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

*133 *137 *487 La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shěr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wùa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shěr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountainside high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

---

[4] It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和囉咯, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Ķhü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its
name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy
[243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200
families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic
[131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′.
[548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa
(sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 173 ● The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 靡州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Ḥsü chou 敘州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

---

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

[p. 248]

made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a 634 separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien.

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in 173 ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north 634 to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li.

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha 346 screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect 792 and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect.

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which 484 relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr.

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien ter- 114 ritory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has 484 been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu-

346 *hsin-yu* 辛酉 (1561)[8] the native prefect Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

173 Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548.—The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle[9] sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army[10] will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

---

[8] Chavannes was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chronicle they were both cut in 1561.

[9] *Hao ling* 號令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

[10] Wu-shih 烏師 (Black army).

Chavannes in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 烏 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 烏蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.

173

away. The region was so cold that water froze and frost formed in the sixth moon. The wind was biting, and during the three months of the autumn the mists and the rains obscured the view. Snowflakes were as large as the palm of the hand. It rained from morning to night. With the wind blowing like arrows, the roads and passes were covered with frozen snow. By spreading sand over the frozen trail cattle and horses could pass over them.

"The horses of the brigands marched southward crossing the River, and invaded our frontier territory of Lin-hsi;[11] but the Celestial soldiers guarded the borders. The orders of their officers were like thunderbolts and lightning, and the rebels having lost their courage had no time to gather their flags. They fled, helping each other across the river and leaving behind saddled horses, riderless, and sacks of grain. The garments of the brigands and sacks [of grain] covered the battle-field. Our soldiers vied with one another in tearing away the tents of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 [Barbarians, Huns]. Some crept on all fours and, carrying their spears and arrows reversed, surrendered. Our advancing soldiers shook like a thunderbolt the spirit of Shan-yü 單于 [the head of the Tibetan brigands, is meant, used metaphorically here].[12]

"Heads were heaped up like hills, blood flowed like rivers and buff-coats and rattan shields filled up hollows and ditches.

"To conquer the barbarians we have now passed the years of *shen* 申 and *yu* 酉. [The years *wu-shen* 戊申 and 己酉 *chi-yu* of Chia-ching or 27th and 28th, corresponding to 1548 and 1549, are meant.] Now in the deserts there are no more traces of the foxes and the leopards. [The Tibetan brigands had been conquered and are thus symbolized.]

"A metal tablet 300 feet high was erected to commemorate the exploits of the gallant general of the Ming dynasty. The returning soldiers brought back a great victory and their joyous songs resounded like the waves of the ocean. The flags reflected the sun, and the East and the South were made red by them, the brass drums sounded like thunder, which penetrated to the West and the North.

"The resourcefulness of our braves exceeded that of Kuan Chung 管仲.[13] Our men of talent showed to the world a shrewdness worthy of Wu (and) Sun 武孫.[14]

---

[11] Lin-hsi 臨西 is the present-day Wei-hsi hsien.

[12] Shan-yü according to Ma Tuan-lin is equivalent to the modern Khan. Shan-yü has the meaning of vast, extensive. The first Shan-yü mentioned in the *Han Shu* ch. 94, fol. 5a was a Hsiung-nu by name T'ou-man 頭曼. In his wars against the Ch'in 秦 (255–207 B.C.) he was not victorious. Thereafter he retired to the north where he lived for more than ten years. His son and heir apparent was called Mo-t'u 冒頓 (209–175 B.C.). There were many Shan-yü who were the kings of the Hsiung-nu.

[13] Kuan Chung, also known as Kuan I-wu 管夷吾, died in 645 B.C. He was a native of the state of Ch'i 齊, whose minister he became in 685 B.C.

[14] This should in all probability read Sun Wu instead of Wu Sun. Sun Wu also called Sun-tzu 孫子 was a native of the State of Ch'i 齊. He wrote a treatise on the art of war (*Ping-fa* 兵法) and his name is usually associated with that of Wu Ch'i 吳起 as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy. It may however stand for Wu 吳 and Sun, but in that case the writer used the wrong character Wu 武 instead of Wu 吳. The latter was a native

173 "We have annihilated 400 camps of dogs and sheep [the Tibetans are here meant], and swept away 5,000 villages of the barbarians. The wind having blown the wicked clouds away, both the sky and earth were made serene. The sun having conquered the mountain which barred his way, the heights and the valleys were made bright. We returned to submit this to our sagacious Lord of the Ming dynasty; we, with the entire universe, rejoice in this universal peace."

The Moon on the West River

"The chiefs leading a million brave soldiers, their majestic air like that of a tiger and of a plumed bird bent on exterminating, they struck and roared like the thunder. Who dares to disobey! The prisoners of the North and the barbarians of the West, the jackal and the dog who had offended Heaven, earth and the gods, this day we have entirely swept away, and suppressed those offensive beings.

"We shall enjoy a superabundant prosperity and peace in perpetuity."

* * *

"Written in tune as if drunken with peace. *A Toast to Universal Peace.*

"The three armies have decapitated the wicked barbarians, the supreme chief is beaten with the ivory drumstick. The heads of the dogs lay covering the ground, piled up as at the Feng and Yü 封嵎.[15] Our military virtue was made to rebound; the streams of blood eddied around the armor and ○○.[16] The bodies of the slaughtered lay so thick that our horses could not move, the prowess of our soldiers was such that the western corner was pacified. Their names are sung through the ages."

"In the great Ming dynasty, Chia-ching, the 27th year (1548), when the dragon was in the attitude *wu-shen* 戊申 on an auspicious day in the middle of Spring, our great general, the pacificator of the West, the lord of the purple gold, sung this while playing on his sword [illegible] on a musical instrument."

* * *

The inscription of 1561.—Records of Great Exploits and Great Victories

"If an exploit is not outstanding, one's fame cannot be achieved; if virtue is not conspicuous, one's standing cannot be established. As exploit means loyalty to the king, and virtue means filial piety to the parents, one can obtain

---

of the State of Wei 衛 who died in 381 B.C. He had studied the art of war in the State of Lu 魯 and gained great proficiency therein.

Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 1825 gives Sun Wu, using the wrong character *wu* 吳, it should be *wu* 武. The biography of Sun Wu may be found in the *Shih Chi*, ch. 65, fol. 1a.

[15] The mountains of Feng and Yü are in the province of Che-chiang, and there, in the days of Confucius, a gigantic bone pile existed. Feng Shan is 18 li from the hsien city of Wu-k'ang 武康. A prince of the Wang-mang 汪芒 family dwelled on the Feng Yü mountains. In the T'ang dynasty the mountains were called Fang-feng Shan 防風山 and Yü Shan 禺山. The latter is 2 li south-east of Feng Shan.

[16] Two Chinese characters have been defaced and hence illegible.

exploit through loyalty, and virtue through filial piety. Be loyal after you have become noble, and you shall keep the hereditary rank; be filial after you have become wealthy, and you shall retain the position permanently. Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force, from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance. Heaven helps human beings to attain their aims, and would be moved by their consciousness.

"In the year *wu-shen* 戊申 (1548) the Tibetan robbers depredated the territory of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 of the district of Lin-hsi.[17] My honorable father ordered me, his eldest son, Mu Kao, to take command and lead the brave soldiers to exterminate the bandits. In the same year, the eighth moon and 9th day (September 10th, 1548) we arrived at Li-kan-mao 利干毛. Before the sun had risen we advanced on the retreating brigand soldiers numbering more than 200,000; over 2,800 of them were decapitated. Success was as easy as the splitting of bamboos. Our troops advanced as far as Kung-tsu 鞏租 before we returned.

"Upon reporting the victory to the three high provincial officials, the superiors bestowed golden medals, golden flowers, colorful satins, cows and wine to reward the rank and file; and gave to my honorable father the farms (of the great victor) of Mu-chien and A-hsi,[18] 1,000 taels of gold, and 10,000 of silver, ten pairs of various sorts of silk gauzes, satins, damasks, and lustrines, one gold goblet, one pair of gold fruit trays, one complete set of gold medals, and a gold necklet bearing the inscription, "With a sincere heart you have responded for the benefit of the Empire," one pair of golden flowers, one golden belt, one set of golden saddles, and one white horse.

"In the eighth moon of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (August 23rd to September 20th, 1549) when the Tibetans again invaded the border region of Chao-k'o 昭可 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of Chü-chin 巨津,[19] orders were given me, Mu Kao,

---

[17] The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 38, ch. 71, p. 6a, writes Mao-ch'ü-kung 毛佉公, and states that it came under Wei-hsi 維西 (formerly called Lin-hsi) and that from Wei-hsi to A-te-chiu 阿德囚 were six stages, and from the latter to T'ien-chu-chai 天柱寨 were three stages, and thence to Mao-ch'ü-kung another three stages, and from the latter place to Tibet 54 stages. Mao-ch'ü-ko was, therefore, 12 stages from Wei-hsi, it is not stated in what direction but probably towards A-tun-tzu.

Lin-hsi was north-west of Li-chiang 460 li. The district was created in the Yüan dynasty in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277). To the west of Lin-hsi was the T'u-fan territory.

Chavannes says that in the Mu Chronicle the name Mao-ch'ü-ko appears twice, in the 14th and 16th generations. In the second instance it is preceded by the words Ni-na. Nyi-na is the Na-khi name of Wei-hsi.

[18] Mu-chien 木堅 is a district east of Li-chiang comprising a number of villages. It is called in Na-khi, Ss-ngyi; Mu-chien is a translation of the words Ss-ngyi (Durable wood). A-hsi is a village as well as a district on the Yangtze west of Li-chiang and north-east of Shih-ku. The words used here are: ta-sheng chuang 大勝庄 = farm-steads of the great victor, *i.e.* the farms belonging to the great victorious Mu family.

[19] Chü-chin is now obsolete. It was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an 羅波九睒; west of it was the T'u-fan district. The great chiefs of the Mo-so lived there for generations. In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), in the Chiu-t'an 九睒, was established Chü-chin chou, but belonging to Li-chiang Lu 麗江路 (Li-chiang Circuit).

● 173 to mobilize a large force to proceed to Pa-t'o-chai 巴托寨. There we fought and the brigands received a crushing defeat, with over a thousand of them beheaded by our forces, and innumerable more drowned in the river. After that our troops marched to Kan-to-kuang 干朵光 and other peaceful regions, in order to soothe and pacify the people ere they returned.

"The success was again reported to the superiors and a reward similar to that of the previous occasion was bestowed on my venerable father as before.

"My venerable father said, 'He who practises benevolence has no enemy. He who plans strategy in his tent assures victory a thousand li distant. The Mu family has for generations been the protecting barrier of the Ming empire.

" 'It maintained peace with firmness in the entire region. If in the south of Tien 滇 [Yün-nan] the chickens and dogs are not afraid, and if the army and the people live in peace, is that not, in brief, due to the grace of the Mu family?

" 'In order to show publicly his loyal heart, a vassal worthy of the name, whether asleep or while eating, must never forget [what he owes to the sovereign]; therefore my sons and grandsons shall wear the golden belt embossed with the flowers which was bestowed on us in recompense by Imperial decree and which bears the words, 'To a loyal heart which responded for the benefit of the Empire,' and hereditarily shall defend Li-chiang.'

"As lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain, and as vast as the expanse of the South Sea [so be the majesty of the Mu family]. We have engraved this inscription on this stone in order that it may be handed down to posterity.

Poetry says:

"In recompensing the favors of the Empire, he brandished a pair of swords, and the wind and the rain were made to whirl busily. When he brandished a single sword, devils and spirits would hide away. With his heroism the frontier regions were kept in strict order; the cold brightness of his sword penetrated the constellations of the Cow-herd and the Great Bear. He had been the key to a stone gate in hereditarily defending the territory of the Ming dynasty."

This is now followed by the Song of Peace:

The Toast to Universal Peace

"We inscribed the ode about the great victories; we have composed with joy the rhymes about universal peace; for the three armies when the merits gained by each one were repeatedly discussed, it was a rare and beautiful spectacle. The brocaded silk garments, in front and behind, were singularly

---

The iron chain-bridge was the point of friendly intercourse between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'u-fan, and on that account it was called Ta-chin-tu 大津渡 (Great ford) (over the Yangtze). Hence also Chü (the great) chin (ford or mart). *See* page 289.

harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away. 173

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the attitude of *hsin-yu* 辛酉, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○○○], Mu Kao of the hereditary Mu family ○○."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies' Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together by crudely forged chains, spans it.[20] Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range. The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize, much finer in every way than on the upper slopes. 487* 133* 137* [243]

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關[21] (Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the hamlet of Boa-t'a-wùa (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yüan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the Ming generals.[22]

---

[20] The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-ch'iao-kuan 弔橋關; and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

[21] The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to Ch'iao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關) 90 li.

[22] In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 普王, a Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 韋皋 to fight the T'u-fan at Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (*see* Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 136 broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to *135 spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species *137 of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

● 173 101 The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅姿 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獹, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

---

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九睒. The P'u 濮 and Lu 獹 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 姐羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 彡姐羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

established in the Chiu-t'an 九賧 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü- 173
chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the 101
Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang.

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang, in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汛 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 共宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along 487*
the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded 133*
to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü- 137*
tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白蓮 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second.

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-ḳhü-ndu (Lower Ḳhü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-ḳhü-ndu (Upper Ḳhü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Gohenda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

1. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

● 173 According to the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, and the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect)[1].

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, "In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃鐵橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 吳 (Wu San-kuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

"Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yüan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

"In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yüan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

814 173 In the year *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-ch'ang 余慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 貢生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

---

[1] The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.

[p. 294]

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) Wei-hsi was the eastern border of the T'u-fan, and prior to the Ming dynasty there were no records. During the reign of Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) the Li-chiang native prefect of the Mu family[2] gradually became powerful and led his Mo-so soldiers to attack the T'u-fan. The latter then built several hundred watch-towers to resist them, and guarded and strongly fortified all important places, such as the villages of Liu-ts'un 六村, La-p'u 剌普, and Ch'i-tsung. The Mu family made a huge battering-ram and, pulling it after them, struck their watch-towers, causing them to collapse. All their important places were then captured, and the people butchered. After that the Mo-so tribespeople were brought to rule over them. From the north of Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄[3] they came to submit. Thereupon Wei-hsi and Chung-tien and the villages of Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Bathang) and Li-t'ang 裏塘 [the present-day Pa-an 巴安 and Li-hua 裏化] now governed by Ssu-ch'uan [Hsi-k'ang], became part of the empire. The Mu family collected the land tax, and this was reported to the throne. In the 13th year of K'ang-hsi (1674) Wu San-kuei rebelled; when his grandchild, Shih-fan 世璠, was defeated, he ceded the region north of Ch'i-tsung and presented it to Ch'ing-hai 青海 (that is, Koko Nor), and asked them to come to his rescue. Wei-hsi was again lost to the Tibetans. After several years it was again retaken. Those territories which belonged to Ssu-ch'uan were kept in restraint by native officials. The affairs of the Dalai Lama, who was greatly respected by the dynasty, were not interfered with.

"In the 7th year of Yung-cheng (1729), the families of north-western Yün-nan were divided and some were placed under the rule of Ho-ch'ing fu. The Ho-ch'ing T'ung-p'an was transferred to rule them and he established himself in the city (Wei-hsi). One thousand soldiers were also placed there under the control of a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel). To seven old headmen was given the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總, and to three the rank of T'u-pa-tsung 土把總.

"In the 19th year of Ch'ien-lung (1754) the administrative seat of the country bordering on Li-chiang was changed and placed under Li-chiang fu."[4]

2. THE NATIVE OFFICIALS

The Wei-hsi Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 T'u-pa-tsung ruled over La-jih 喇日, La-p'u-wan 喇普灣, Lo-chi-ku 樂吉古, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西, and other villages. His ancestors lived at Yu-i-ts'un 由義村, from which village it is 60 li east to Ch'i-tsung La-p'u; 15 li south to La-p'u-wan; west, 100 li to the Nu-ti 怒地, the region of the Nu-tzu tribe, who live on the Salween; 200 li north to the village of Chih-yeh-ts'un 枝葉村 [this should read Yeh-chih-ts'un].

His first ancestor was Chao-mu 趙謨. In the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung

---

[2] This was Mu Tseng, who fought many battles against the Tibetans of Nyi-na, which is the Na-khi name for Wei-hsi (*see* Mu chronicle, p. 126–27). He was born in 1587 and died in 1646.

[3] Also written Peng 崩 instead of Pen.

[4] *Pei-cheng-chih* ch. 18, fol. 1a–2a, and 17, fol. 84a.

● 173 (1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 沿江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 信 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝璋 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 潤 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 九錫 assumed the position.

* * *

There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巗山, 30 li;[5] south to the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巗橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 巗瓦巗橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 喃團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橄欖木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 怒子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州[6] and Ta-yao 大姚[7] he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

[634] Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

---

[5] This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

[6] Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

[7] Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.

6. THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE YEH-CHIH T'U-SSU.

173

Through the courtesy of Mr. Yü Te-chün 兪德浚 a Chinese botanist who recently visited Yeh-chih, I have come into the possession of a copy of the genealogical record of the Wang family 王氏 of Yeh-chih. This record has been jealously guarded by the present T'u-ssu of Yeh-chih, who even declared not to possess any. The record is not flattering and this may account for his reluctancy to reveal it. The Wang family which since the death of the late T'u-ssu has degenerated, exercises now only a nominal control over the district. The record is brief and full of hostile remarks about certain members of the family. It was written by Li Wen-ch'üan 李蘊泉 alias Li Yü-lien 李玉濂 a Chinese, who was the tutor and secretary of the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 also known as Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相. Both T'u-ssu and secretary were living at the time of my visit in October 1923, while leading an expedition in south-eastern Tibet for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D.C. Besides the Genealogical record here published, there exists apparently another one, but that is not available and may be no more extant.

It is most curious that so little is known about the male line of the Wang family, for the first two rulers mentioned are women. The first is a mother-in-law of the female tribal chiliarch, and the second is her daughter-in-law. The husband of the latter was presumably an outsider and is therefore not mentioned in the family record.

Introduction to the Genealogical Record. — Li Yü-lien, B.A., was requested by the T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en to compose this record, so we are told in the introductory remarks, which are as follows:

"There have been eight generations from the first ancestor to Hsiang 相 (Wang Kuo-hsiang). During that period some of the forefathers, leading a patriotic life, achieved much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, erecting temples and lamaseries; also in the construction of bridges. Others again distinguished themselves in military exploits. Among those who were repeatedly rewarded with medals and other decorations, mention may be made of the ancestor of the fourth generation on whom was bestowed an honorary tablet by the viceroy. The writer's (the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en) own father (T'ing-chao 廷詔) was promoted from a Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant) to a Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Lieutenant) and Shou-pei 守備 (Second captain). On him was also bestowed the third grade peacock feather, as well as a tablet bearing the inscription Wei Kuo Chüan Ch'ü 爲國捐軀 (You gave your life for your country). Unfortunately he died suddenly while serving his country, as a result of a quarrel among the brothers in the family. The Li-chiang prefect Chu 朱[27] sent a eulogy for his funeral.

The writer's third uncle by the name of Hsüan 選, who harbored evil intentions, wanted a share of the property, kept on causing trouble until the case was finally brought before a court. Unexpectedly the writer's false uncle

---

[27] Chu Ch'ing-ch'un 朱慶椿 became Li-chiang Chih-fu 知府 or prefect in the eleventh year of Hsien-feng 咸豐 (1861).

T'ing-tso 廷佐, who followed the bad example of the other uncle[28] caused incessant trouble.

Now several decades have elapsed and the writer's age is almost seventy. It is still remembered that the writer was treated like a dog or a sheep by his two wolf-like uncles who were bent on exterminating him. Moreover, the second and fourth uncles, who were lamas, trying to dig up the rats and catch the birds, compelled us to give them a portion of the family property and issue a title deed to cover their share. In consequence the family tie with them was severed.

Alas! Is it conceivable that my mortal body should have undergone so many upheavals of the world? The only consolation I have lies in the prosperity the family has gradually enjoyed by virtue of the secret blessings from the ancestors.

After the family residence was destroyed by fire, a new and more elaborate building was erected in its place. Farmsteads have been established at such villages as Pa-ti 巴滴, Tzu-li 子里, East Pai-man-lo 東白滿羅 and West Pai-man-lo 西白滿羅, To-lo 多猓 and Lung-t'o-lo 弄它洛. Difficulties were often experienced in arranging weddings and funerals. In handling official business and in dealing with public affairs, much was left to be desired. Putting my hand over my heart in self examination, I do not know how much energy has been spent over these matters.

Now I have sons and many nephews, and ere long the grandsons will themselves have children of their own. Time certainly flies and I am much moved by the fact that the span of life is merely like a dream.

I have requested Mr. Li Yü-lien, B.A., to compose this article. It is not intended to add anything to the glories already existing, but merely to state the facts so that a part of the grandeur of the past may still be seen by posterity."

"On a lucky day in the fourth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Republic of China (May 10th–June 9th, 1918).

Recorded by Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相 (Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣). Composed and written by Li Yü-lien (Li Wen-ch'üan) tutor 西席 to the ancient Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 (Kingdom of the piebald horse."

Genealogical Record of the Wang family.

FIRST GENERATION. — *Ho-niang* 禾娘: The mother-in-law of the female tribal lieutenant Chih-ming 志明. Her daughter-in-law Chih-ming was brave and loyal and alone succeeded her husband in office and opened up Wei-hsi 維西. Unfortunately her husband died early, survived by a daughter. Ho-niang and her son's wife carried on extensive philanthropic work by erecting six temples which they endowed with land and fields. They rehabilitated

---

[28] The text actually says: ch'ui-hsien 垂涎 = (whose) mouth watered. As an old saying goes, 'who will quietly let another man snore beside his own bed'? A lawsuit was filed against him at the office of the prefect and the case was appealed to the office of the Tao-yin 道尹 and then to the viceroy. Complaint was made against the designs of the said false uncle and his son who intended to confuse our ancestral line by the admission of persons of different surnames. The case was finally settled when a definite verdict was issued for each party to abide by its documentary evidence.

173 the estates belonging to the various petty tribal officers, and clearly defined the boundaries of the properties of the inhabitants, and erected a city wall.

In the 15th or 16th year of Yung-cheng[29] (A.D. 1737 or 1738) they requested that the tribal system be changed to the Chinese system and that an office for the pacification of the tribespeople be established.

It may be mentioned that since the founding of the Republic, Wei-hsi has been made into a district.

SECOND GENERATION. — *Wang A-chih* 王阿芝: Daughter of Ho-niang, left K'ang-p'u for Yeh-chih where her surname was changed to Wang. She had no son but only a daughter who was married to Tsai-hsi 再錫. The latter lived with her in her family. Like her mother she inherited the hereditary position and increased the family property by the reclamation of waste land.

(The name of the daughter does not appear in the record, neither did she succeed her mother).

THIRD GENERATION. — *Wang Tsai-hsi* 王再錫: The son-in-law of Wang A-chih. He had two sons. No reference can be found in the family genealogy as to his birth place. However he succeeded his mother-in-law holding the same position and was known to be upright and unselfish. He was kind to the people.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *Wang An* 王安: The eldest son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He was sincere and honest by nature. He was systematic in performing official duties and efficient in tranquilizing the people. His superiors appreciated his ability and all the people liked to obey his orders. It was a pity that he did not live long. He had two sons Ch'ao-tung 朝棟 and Ch'ao-fu 朝輔.

Wang Ting 王定: The second son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He had two daughters, their names are not given; one of them was married to Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌 of Tien-ku 甸古,[30] who lived in his wife's family.

He was kind and righteous. Both the Chinese and tribespeople liked him. The viceroy presented him with an honorary tablet bearing the inscription: Hsing Tui Ku Ch'u 行敦古處 = Your character is sterling.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *Wang Ch'ao-tung* 王朝棟: The eldest son of Wang An died early. A man whose original name was Chao 趙 was taken into the family, which named him P'u 璞; Wang Ch'ao-tung's daughter was given him in marriage. It is impossible to ascertain whence P'u's father Chao Kuo-chün 趙國俊 had come from.[31]

---

[29] Yung-cheng ruled for thirteen years only; it should read the 2nd or 3rd year of Ch'ien-lung.

[30] Tien-ku is the Na-khi Dü-gkv; it is north of Yeh-chih.

[31] Chao Kuo-chün was the Yen-chiang t'u-pa-tsung 沿江土把總 the native sergeant of the Mekong river bank. His first ancestor was Chao Mu 趙穆 who was appointed to the above position in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742); he had been victorious over Li-su robbers of Ngai-wa-lo 礙瓦洛. Chao Hsin 趙信, the son of Chao Kuo-chün inherited the

Wang Ch'ao-fu 王朝輔: The second son of Wang An. He had no son but only two daughters. He was a prudent and industrious young man. He often shared the sufferings and joys of his servants. Villagers and members of his clan admired him for his industry and foresight.

Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌: He married one of the daughters of Wang Ting; originally his personal name was Shih-ch'ang. Since he married one of the Wang daughters and lived with the Wang family, he should not have kept the surname Ho. It is also impossible to say why T'ien-chio 天爵 was called the son and heir. It is believed that perhaps at the time of succeeding to the hereditary title, the recorder played a trick and caused an erroneous entry. It will be noted that Ho Shih-ch'ang was the second son-in-law of Wang Ting and that T'ien-chio was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu. Why was he still called son in the records? The land register of the ancestor of the fourth generation was somewhat obscure and contradictory in this respect.

SIXTH GENERATION. — ***Wang P'u*** 王璞: He came to Yeh-chih from Wei-hsi and married the daughter of Wang Ch'ao-tung. He had two sons but no daughter. The names of his two sons were Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Wan-nien 萬年.

Wang T'ien-chio 王天爵: He was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu and had four sons and two daughters. His sons were named: T'ing-chao 廷詔; Ming-chüeh 明覺, he was the Chang-chiao 掌教 (Wielder of supreme religious authority) of Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺; T'ing-hsüan 廷選 and Te-tu 得度, the latter was a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. The eldest daughter was married to the Wang family of K'ang-p'u[32] and the second daughter was married to the Ho family of Tien-ku. T'ien-chio's parents had died when he was still young. Game hunting was his hobby. When he grew into manhood he was prudent and kind. He built the Hsien-jen tung 仙人洞 or the cave of the immortals and the Lo-tzu bridge 猓子橋. He did much in the reclamation of land and in mining.

Wang T'ien-lu 王天祿: He was T'ien-chio's younger brother, who was the adopted son of Ho Hui-tsu 禾輝祖. He was the assistant tribal officer of Yeh-chih. His false (spurious) younger brother, T'ien-kuei 天貴 was the father of the spurious uncle T'ing-tso 廷佐. The family register showed that the spurious father was given a share of the property and that his son was married to the daughter of the Sang family 桑氏 at Kung-shui 共水,[33] and lived in the wife's family.

---

position. He was followed by his son Chao Ch'ao-chang 趙朝璋 who was killed in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). See also chapter: Wei-hsi native officials. — From: *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 145, fol. 33b.

[32] It would appear that there was a Wang family at K'ang-p'u which had nothing to do with the Wang family of Yeh-chih. The former was the native Pa-tsung of the Western circuit of Hsi-lu 西路. This Pa-tsung and the Pa-tsung of Northern circuit or Pei-lu 北路 named Nan 喃 resided at K'ang-p'u. Now only the Nan family resides at K'ang-p'u. There is also a Lin-ch'eng t'u pa-tsung 臨城土把總 by the name Wang who lives thirty li east of Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 at Yung-an-ts'un 永安村.

[33] The members of the Sang family were T'u-pa-tsungs of A-tun-tzu, dating to the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

It could not be understood why he started a lawsuit to get a share of the property. He would not have left his wife and children and come to T'o-pa-k'o 拖八科, had there not been a prospect of snatching a further portion of the family property.

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wan-ch'un* 王萬春 and *Wang Wan-nien* 王萬年: They were the elder and second sons of Wang P'u, and became the adopted sons of T'ing-hsüan 廷選, the third son of T'ien-chio. They should have been able to get along with others amicably but after their cousin was assassinated at Hung-p'o 紅坡, they at first attempted in vain to encroach upon the property; later they instituted a lawsuit with a view of seizing the property. It was a great pity that they had no consideration for their sister-in-law and nephews, who were thus exposed to starvation.

Wang T'ing-chao 王廷詔: He was the eldest son of T'ien-chio. He was brave and resourceful by instinct. He won victories in suppressing the Mohammedan uprising led by Tu 杜. Five of the districts under the Li-chiang prefect sent tablets bearing the inscriptions: Li Yüan Pao Chang 麗垣保障 = the Bulwark of Li-chiang, and Wei Kuo Wei Min 爲國爲民 = for the Country and for the People, etc. He was later instructed by Yang Wu-min 楊武愍 (General Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科 of Ta-li fame) to urge the people to pay the military tax, but he was unfortunately murdered by the wicked lamas. Prefect Chu 朱 a former prefect of Li-chiang and Li 李 the prefect then in office, sent eulogies for his funeral. One of the eulogies was engraved on his tombstone.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *Wang Kuo-hsiang* 王國相 (PLATE 160): He was the eldest son of Wang T'ing-chao. He was clever when young and skilled in painting. While he has enjoyed Heaven's blessing, he has been prudent and modest. He has continued the good works of his ancestors in such projects as building highways, repairing bridges, erecting temples and developing waste land. Most of his achievements have already been recorded in the new family genealogy. He has started to accumulate funds for constructing a rope-bridge and ferries. He is most congenial when dealing with the people, and has been quite successful in teaching his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews. The composer of this article has been in his employ for over a decade and is well aware of his enjoyment of prosperity, good reputation and ripe old age. All necessary enterprises have been carried out in all speediness. It may be appropriate to present him with the following eulogies: A noble pair of brothers and a good father and son. He had four brothers named Kuo-tung 國棟; Kuo-liang 國樑; Teng-tzu 登子 [he was a lama of Shou-kuo Ssu] and Kuo-ts'ai 國材. His brother Kuo-tung became a member of the Ho family; he had seven daughters and one son Ho Hou-pen 禾厚本. Kuo-liang had one daughter and one son by name Wen-min 文敏. Kuo-ts'ai had one daughter and three sons: Wen-ch'ang 文敞 who became the Chang-chiao of Shou-kuo Ssu, Wen-fu 文敷 and Wen-huan 文煥 who became a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. Wang Kuo-hsiang had three daughters and three sons. The first born is Wang Wen-cheng 王文政, then Wen-shu 文淑 who died in childhood, and Wen-tien 文敟.

Wang Kuo-cheng 王國楨: Was the son of Wang T'ing-hsüan [The asser- 173 ●
tions made by the author of this genealogy are so uncomplimentary that they are here omitted. Suffice it to say that the clan has degenerated and that opium has played its part in the downfall of the family].

NINTH GENERATION.—*Wang Wen-cheng* 王文政: Is the eldest son of Wang Kuo-hsiang and is the present ruler of Yeh-chih. He exercises however little authority and it is doubtful if his son will ever inherit the office. He is the father of three sons and one daughter. The sons are named: Wang Chia-lu 王嘉祿, Wang Chia-jui 王嘉瑞 and Wang Chia-pi 王嘉弼. Wang Wen-cheng has since died and his son Wang Chia-lu has succeeded him.

Concluding remarks.—When the Genealogical record was written, Wang Kuo-hsiang was the eighth generation of rulers, but the seventh who ruled at Yeh-chih, for the first generation lived at Wei-hsi. In fact the town is said to have been opened by Chih-ming who also is said to have built the city wall. The first reference to Na-khi being given charge of the region of Wei-hsi, the ancient Lin-hsi and the Na-khi Nyi-na, occurs in the Mu family Chronicle during the rule of A-te A-chu, the eighth generation, in the year 1406.

Recently K'ang-p'u has been attached to Yeh-chih and now forms only a chü 局; the T'u-ssu has lost part of his authority and is only permitted to collect taxes from the Li-su living in the mountains and from Na-khi villages. He administers about 800 families in all.

7. FROM YEH-CHIH PLAIN TO TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

After leaving the Yeh-chih T'u-ssu's yamen we cross the Yeh-chih stream 487*
and climb high above the Mekong, passing the village of Tien-ku 甸古, the 133*
Dü-gkv of the Na-khi. The trail is again very narrow, covered by land- 137*
slides and often dropping vertically into the Mekong, which runs like a mill-race. We next pass the village of 'A-wùa (Ngai-wa),[34] skirting sandstone bluffs, the slopes of which are covered with oak and walnut, while on the terraced slopes near the village maize, rice and tobacco are cultivated. The villages next passed are P'u-lo-tzu 普羅子[35] (H.-M., Palonso) and Ssi-li the Chinese Tzu-li 子里, each near a lateral stream. The Mekong beyond the last village makes a sharp curve, due to the resistance of the conglomerate, and ahead on a bluff is visible the hamlet of P'u-ti 普地. After crossing over a long wooden bridge a tributary between two vertical cliffs, two li more bring us to the village of Na-kan-to 那干多, and, near another bend of the river, to the village of Ba-dü, (Pa-ti 巴滴 or 巴的), distance 65 li from Yeh-chih. Ba-dü is a pure Na-khi village, situated at the foot of a hill forested with pines; opposite on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ku-pu 故布.

Skirting the village of Ba-dü, we come to the hamlet of Lo-ndu (PLATES 161, 162) (Lo-ta 猓達 in Chinese; MAJ. D., Nan-tao), and follow the curves

---

[34] The Chinese Yen-wa 巖瓦, pronounced Ngai-wa in Yün-nan.

[35] In Tibetan Ba-glang-tsho བ་གླང་མཚོ, pronounced Ba-lang-tsho.

346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 嚓木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 *133 *437 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra)[7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子闌

•173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 絫頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角壩, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 了拉郎 villages.

---

ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (GORÉ).

[7] སྤོང་རྩེ་ར

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

The T'u-ch'ien-tsung hereditarily resides at Pen-tzu-lan; his territory 173 extends east to the Hsi-k'ang—Tibetan border and the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, 20 li; south to T'o-ting 拖頂 of the Wei-hsi border, 240 li; west to I-chia-p'eng 一家棚 of the Wei-hsi border, 150 li; north to Wei-hsi and the Ba-thang border, 500 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Shen-weng 神翁. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the native office was changed and naturalized, and the memorial for his appointment as hereditary native lieutenant was approved by the Throne. He guarded the important borders of Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang)—Tibet. The office was handed down to the son of San-chia-ch'i-li 三家七里 (his Tibetan name transcribed), whose name was changed to Wang Shih-ch'ang 王世昌. Shih-ch'ang died and his son Ch'en 臣 inherited the office. After the latter's death his son Wan-nien 萬年 assumed the position in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834). The present ruler is Wang Chao-lin 王兆麟.

The T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the native lieutenant, restrained the Man-i (barbarians). They governed and guarded the important frontiers. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the hereditary rank of the T'u-pa-tsung was approved. His first ancestor was Pieh-ma 別馬, but afterwards his name was changed to Po 柏. The office was transmitted to Po-hui 柏輝. Hui died and Mou 茂 inherited the office. Mou died and his son Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青 inherited the office in the first year of Kuang-hsü (1875).

According to the *Wei-hsi Wen-Chien lu,* "Pen-tzu-lan is situated on the banks of the Yangtze; the territory is narrow and difficult and the mountains high. In the summer the heat is intense, while on the tops of the mountains there is much snow; in the winter the cold is severe.

"At Pen-tzu-lan are said to grow five trees called *Tsang-t'ao* 藏桃. The leaves are like those of willows, the flowers are deep red and the petals are like those of a peach. It flowers in the 12th moon, the flowers are large and long; in the third moon the flowers drop, and in the sixth moon the fruit is ripe, and red as a peach. The taste is astringent and the fruit not edible. If one wishes to eat it, it must be treated like the *Hu-t'ao* 胡桃.[9] The kernel is fragrant and sweet. Tradition relates that during the reign of K'ang-hsi the territory belonged to Ch'ing-hai 青海; the headman of that region came to Pen-tzu-lan and took the seeds back with him to Ch'ing-hai [Koko Nor], but they would not grow."

4. ACROSS KAR-RI LA (PASS) OF KENG-LI LA 更里拉

Continuing our journey we come to three converging gorges in the center 487* of which is a large, massive, pyramidal mountain, clothed in its upper third 133* 137*

---

[9] *Hu-t'ao* is the earliest designation in Chinese for the walnut and means the peach of the *Hu*. Hu was the Chinese name for the Iranians. The term *Ho-t'ao* 核桃 is a later one for the walnut and means seed peach, or the peach containing a kernel (LAUFER *Sino-Iranica*). The *Tsang-t'ao* is very possibly the almond (*Prunus amygdalus*) but the latter has not yet been found in China. What the Chinese call *Hsing-jen* 杏仁 is not the almond but the kernels of the apricot — although genuine almonds, because they resemble the seeds of the apricot, are also called *Hsing-jen*. The only almond occurring in China is a wild species known as *Prunus tangutica* and occurs in western Kan-su along the T'ao River as a thorny shrub, where I collected it in 1925 and 1926.

PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND BOUNDARIES OF YUNG-NING 永寧

I. THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINCY

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control 101
since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs 173 ●
lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning.

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi)[1] family names, of which [551]
five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A.

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 裏化 (Li-t'ang 裏塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known as Mu-li 木裏 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'-ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

---

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The H[illegible]-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhĕr-khin.

[p.355]

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多; Chhab-mdo)[2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ།).[3] He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po[4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

---

[2] ཆབ་མདོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong རྗེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང.

[4] མུ་ལི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་དང་པོ

101
173

"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approved he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴洱 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief."[5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏塗都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs བློ་བཟང་མཐུ་སྟོབས, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 項.[6] (PLATE

---

[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri འབར་རི; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (འབར་རི་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dăn* or *den*; its final n̲ is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 枯櫓 or K'ang-wu 康塢 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་འོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bsod-nams-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-p'u 李章甫 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛欽吉呼圖克圖一等文虎章現任川邊佛教會長陸軍中將銜世襲木裏宣慰司開慈鹽源 "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 項此稱扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木裏宣慰司兼夷務指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍兩鹽九龍防司令部.

At Min-chi 欽吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa མོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs rnam-sprul འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan གྲགས་པ་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (his captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

101 | 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, 173 for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 攏打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yangtze, *gv* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 呷迷; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[7]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

---

signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典俸品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[7] The *Hsi-ning fu hsin-chih* 西寧府新志, ch. 19, fol. 1a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

frontier district of Yün-nan, adjoining Ssu-ch'uan and the land of the T'u-fan. Its ancient name was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭賧 and is also known as Ta-lan Mo-hsieh 答藍麼廋.[8] At the close of the Han 漢 dynasty [about A.D. 24] the Yung-ning A T'u-ssu's ancestor — Ni-yüeh-wu 泥月烏 — pacified the T'u-fan and settled in their land."[9] (The *Tien-hsi* Vol. 2, fol. 10a calls him Tsu (祖)-ni-yüeh-wu and states that he was a chief of the Mo-so man). "In the T'ang dynasty it belonged to the Nan-chao Kingdom under the rule of the Meng family (649–902). After that it was occupied by the Mo-so man [Na-khi] but later again recovered. In the Sung dynasty it belonged to the Ta-li 大理 dynasty under the rule of the Tuan family (937–1094).

"In the Yüan dynasty, Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈 sojourned [with his troops] at Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和" (PLATE 212). This place is called in Hli-khin, La-pa-ddü; it is a meadow about one and a half li west of the Yung-ning Lamasery; the Hli gyi (Hli River) crosses the meadow in the center. The southern part of the meadow is called Jih (Sun) and the northern part of the meadow Yüeh (Moon) and collectively Jih-yüeh-ho (Union of the sun and moon). The late Tsung-kuan 總管 of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan 阿雲山 or A To-ch'i 阿鐸奇 (PLATE 213), often told me that Kublai Khan camped there with his army. The Tsung-kuan and his relatives used always to escort me as far as this place when I left Yung-ning for Li-chiang. He said that from time immemorial, when anyone started on a voyage from Yung-ning, the first place to camp would be at Jih-yüeh-ho. He himself was proud of his Mongol origin, for he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-ning to govern that territory.

"In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed to the

---

[8] This is apparently in imitation of the Tibetan name of Yung-ning which is Thar-lam, meaning the "road to Nirvana," which also the Chinese name Yung-ning (Eternal peace) indicates. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call it Ta-long. The Yung-pei Records write it 廋 instead of 些 or 㱔, which is the correct character meaning the Thar-lam of the Mo-so or Mo-hsieh tribe.

[9] We have here the first record of the settlement of the Mo-so and their chief Ni-yüeh-wu who must have been accompanied by a horde of his tribe, otherwise he could not have dislodged the Tibetans and settled in their land which bore the name of Thar-lam, the Tibetan name of Yung-ning to this day. This was said to have taken place about A.D. 24. We further learn from the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, as well as from the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History) that the first chief of the Mo-so to settle south-west of the Yangtze, that is within the Yangtze loop, came from the present Yung-ning, then called Lou-t'ou; he himself was called Po-ch'ung 波衝. He settled in what was afterwards called the district of Pao-shan, 寶山 the present La-pao, 245 li north of Li-chiang and 150 li south-west of Yung-ning. He founded the Mo-so Kingdom (Yüeh-hsi chao) during the T'ang dynasty in the early part of the eighth century and called his kingdom Mo-so chao and also Hua-ma Kuo, 花馬國. We learn from the Li-chiang Records that he was murdered in the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (A.D. 738). According to the Nan-chao Records he dwelled at Sui chou 嶲州, which was the name of Li-chiang during the T'ang dynasty, changed later to K'un-ming hsien. He may have been one of the seven Mo-so brothers who established themselves at La-pao during the Eastern T'ang (Tung T'ang 東唐) dynasty.

We thus learn that the Mo-so reached the region of Yung-ning — Li-chiang, or the present north-west of Yün-nan, at the close of the Han dynasty about A.D. 24. It is possible that the Mo-so man afterwards went south of Yung-ning, and that Po-ch'ung founded the Mo-so Kingdom only after Mo-so had long been settled among the P'u and Hsieh tribes and in what is now the Li-chiang district.

173 empire. [The old *Tien-hsi* says that Ho-tzu 和字, who was the 31st generation after Ni-yüeh-wu, submitted in that year to the empire; but the new edition of the *Tien-hsi* omits this.] The *Yüan Shih* ch. 61, fol. 9a states the same, adding that in the 16th year of Chih-yüan (1279) it was changed to a chou 州.

"In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), the office of Ch'a-yen-kuan 茶罨管 [the Yung-pei Record says Ch'a-lan-kuan 茶藍管 and the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih*: 'Ta-lan kuan-min-kuan 荅藍管民管', or the civil official of Ta-lan which is correct] was established. In the 16th year the office was abolished and the department of Yung-ning in the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝府 was established. In the Ming dynasty during the period of Hung-wu (1368–1398) it became subject to the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) it was changed and made subject to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) 瀾滄衛; in the fourth year of Yung-lo (1406) it was changed again to Yung-ning fu, to which belonged the Ssu-ch'uan Chang-kuan-ssu 四川長官司. The native official received the title of prefect and a seal of office, also a letter ordering him to restrain his tribal people. Thereupon the Ssu-ch'uan Tso-so T'u-ssu, by name La-ma-fei 喇嗎非,[10] occupied the territory and killed Pu-sa 卜撒 the father and his son [the Yung-ning T'u-ssu and his son]. His wife then accused him before the Chen-shou 鎮守 (Defense commissioner). Thereupon La-ma-fei was arrested and was ordered to be sent to the capital but he died on the road. The territory was again delimitated. Pu-sa's younger brother, Nan-pa 南八, then took charge of the Tso-so T'u-ssu's affairs.

"During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449), all the wild tribes of Yen-ching [east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan] advanced to attack him. The native [prefect] official could not prevent them from doing so, and thus he petitioned that a prefect and sub-prefect be established and a yamen built in the Lan-ts'ang wei-ch'eng 瀾滄衛城 (walled town of the military station of Lan-ts'ang). The latter then held the district and governed it from a distance.

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), Pei-sheng chou was changed and raised to the fu-city of Yung-pei; the sub-prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning was changed to the sub-prefect of fu-city of Yung-pei and the native prefect of Yung-ning (Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu) was made subject to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The T'u-ssu was delegated to rule in the

---

[10] The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 15, fol. 20a, says Ma-la-fei instead of La-ma-fei. This is a mistake. There is a 馬喇 (vice-headman or Fu-chang-kuan-ssu) by the name A, but he is not to be confused with the Tso-so T'u-ssu called La-ma-fei. The A T'u-ssu or T'u-kuan of Ma-la was a Pa-i 擺夷 tribesman and not a Mo-so or Na-khi. The Ma-la territory adjoined the land of the Yün-nan Pei-sheng T'u-ssu Chang 章土司. The same work (ch. 9, fols. 70b–71a) states further that "in the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1429) Shih-pu-la-fei 失不剌非 of the barbarian village of Yung-ning, conspired with Ma-la-fei the native official of the Ssu-ch'uan Salt-well military station, to kill Ko-chi-pa-ho. They were then pacified by the Imperial army. Thereupon Pu-sa was ordered to succeed to the title of prefect of Yung-ning. Later, he (Pu-sa), was also killed by Shih-pu-la-fei. After his death, his younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position. In the second year of Cheng-t'ung (1437) Ma-la-fei was attacked by Nan-pa, who recovered Wu-chieh 烏節 [this is probably Wu-chio 烏角 near Yung-ning in Mu-li Hsi-k'ang] and other stockaded villages. It is said that Nan-pa was also killed by Ma-la-fei."

Yüan dynasty but without documentary evidence, and only when Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉 came on to the scene in the Ming dynasty was there conferred upon him by letters patent the office of Yung-ning T'u-chih-chou 永寧土知州 (Native Department magistrate of Yung-ning). In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) when high officials came to Yün-nan fu, the T'u-ssu led his people to confer with them, whereupon he was appointed to the position of T'u-chih-fu 土知府, which until this day remains a hereditary post without change."

THE FOUR CHANG-KUAN-SSU DISTRICTS

As regards the four districts ruled by the four Chang-kuan-ssu (native headmen) under the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning, the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 497, fol. 5b, states that they were established in the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo; (the personal records of the A family, chiefs of Yung-ning, state the 24th day of the fourth moon and 4th year of Yung-lo (May 25th, 1402). Later they belonged to the Yün-nan Yung-ning wei 雲南永寧衛. The four Chang-kuan-ssu were all Hsi-fan officials, by name A 阿. After the reign of Cheng-t'ung 正統, about 1450, the Yen-ching native chiefs seized the territory by force. The four native officials then ceased to exist (were abolished). Apparently the entire region was a lawless one, and the Yung-ning chiefs, being unable to rule it, later turned the land over as a gift to the Incarnation of Chha-mdo, as related elsewhere. It appears that the lawless Wu-so (Five So), especially the Tso-so who made inroads into Yung-ning, and killed the son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, possessed themselves of the four territories, the Yung-ning chiefs retaining only a nominal control. Thus it became part of Ssu-ch'uan. The Chha-mdo Incarnation later by converting the inhabitants to the Yellow Lama Church subdued them, and succeeded in establishing his steward, a man of Mongol origin, as the temporal ruler of what is now Mu-li. It is significant that the Tso-so, who were apparently the ringleaders in the seizing of the territory, and did not look with favor on the establishing of the Yellow Church, refused to be converted, and remained to this day adherents of the Shamanist Bön sect, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

5. YUNG-PEI RECORDS, CH. 2

In another volume (ch. 2, fol. 1a–5a) of the Yung-pei Records much of the foregoing is repeated regarding Yung-ning and adjacent territory with the exception of the following, which is of historic interest: "The Yung-pei district was between the borders of Yün-nan and the State of Shu [western Ssu-ch'uan] and in ancient times was between Yüeh-sui and I chou. In those days it had many names which cannot now be determined nor what part of the country they represented.

"It is stated that Tien-sheng 滇省 [Yün-nan] was in the realm of Yü-kung 禹貢 (2200 B.C.) called Liang chou. Ch'eng-wang 成王 of the Chou dynasty (1115–1079 B.C.) united Liang 梁 with the State of Yung and called it Yung chou 雍州 or the department of Yung. Yung-pei was subject to Yung chou; it was west of the province of Tien 滇.

"In the period of the Contending States 戰國 (Commenced 480? or 468?–247 B.C.) it belonged to the land of Pai-kuo 白國地 (Land of the White Kingdom).

"In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 25) the land northwest of the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge; *see* p. 25) was occupied by the Shih-man 施蠻 (Shih barbarians).[11]

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) in the 11th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (795),[12] I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom took by force the land of the Man, called Pei-fang t'an 北方睒 [the present-day Yung-sheng]. He deported the P'o-jen 僰人 of the K'un-mi Ho 昆彌河,[13] [they are the Shan or Pa-i, who dwelled in the Pai-kuo 白國 or Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, established during Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 about 121 B.C., the founder of which was Jen-kuo], the Lo-lo 猓玀, and the Li-(su)hsieh 栗些 [14] to people that territory, and called it Chien-ch'iang 劍羌 and also Ch'eng-chieh t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh); later he changed the name to Shan-chü Chün 善巨郡 (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"During the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣 rebelled against the house of Meng 蒙氏; Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞 and Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 succeeded one another by force and murder, so that there was not a peaceful day.

"In the Sung dynasty (960–1127) the house of Tuan 段氏 occupied Ta-li, and changed the name Shan-chü Chün to Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡, and placed Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 to keep it in order. The Kao family 高氏 thus dwelled there for many generations.[15]

In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), Kao Chün 高俊 [16] submitted to the Imperial rule. In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) the territory of Shih shou 施州 was established. In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Pei-sheng shou 北勝州. In the 24th year (1287) it was raised to the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng fu, and Yung-ning

---

[11] The Shih-man inhabited the third of the six *Chao* which comprised the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom). Their territory was the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, of which Shih-wang-ch'ien 施望欠 was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-tz'u Ho 瀰茨河 and the mountains of Meng-tz'u-ho Shan 蒙茨和山 in Lang-kung (ch'iung) 浪穹縣 (north of Ta-li).

[12] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* gives the 15th year (799) instead of the 11th (795). Ch. 7, fol. 30 of the Yung-pei Records gives also the 15th year. The same record also states that later the Ch'eng-chieh t'an 成偈賧 was created. In the time of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (712–755) [this is wrong, it should read the second year of T'ien-fu 天福 (937)] Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 (he ruled from 937–944 and was the founder of the Ta-li Kuo 大理國 of the Nan-chao Kingdom) conquered Nan-chao, changed the name of Ch'eng-chieh t'an and created the Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡. (In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, Vol. 10, fol. 16b, it says that in the Sung dynasty the Ta-li Tuan family created the Ch'eng-chi-chen and Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 was placed to govern it or keep it in order and subjection.)

[13] The word 僰 is written [illegible] in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史.

[14] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says the Mo-so 摩些 instead of Li-su. This latter name is usually written 力些 or 傈僳.

[15] The Kao family succeeded the Tuan family on the throne of Ta-li under the name of the Ta-chung Kuo 大中國 (1094–1096).

[16] Kao Chün according to the Mongol history, ch. 61, fol. 6a, was the chief of Pei-sheng.

173 chou was made subject to the military and civil Hsüan-fu-ssu of the Li-chiang Circuit 麗江路軍民宣撫司 and to be governed by him.

"In the Ming dynasty, the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), Kao Ts'e 高策 [17] led his people to submit to the empire. In the 17th year (1384) a Pei-sheng chou liu-kuan chih-chou 北勝州流官知州 (Pei-sheng transferable Department magistrate) was established and Kao Ts'e was appointed native Department magistrate. He was to govern the I-min 夷民 (wild tribes) and his Pei-sheng chou was made subject to the military and civil magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) the Lan-ts'ang wei military and civil tribal chieftaincy was established and was ordered to take charge of the district 州, which became joined to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei).[18]

"In the sixth year of Cheng-t'ung (1441) this was changed, and the Yün-nan pu-cheng-shih-ssu 雲南布政使司 (Yün-nan provincial governor) together with the Wei (military station) was to govern it. Again Lang-ch'ü chou 浪渠州 (Lang-ch'ü district) subject to the Wei. was made dependent on the Yün-nan-tu Chih-hui-shih-ssu 雲南都指揮使司 (Yün-nan capital Tribal government).

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), there was established the Pei-sheng ying (cantonment). In the fifth year of K'ang-hsi (1666). Pei-sheng chou was placed under Ta-li fu, and there was added to it and established the Yung-pei chen 永北鎮 (Yung-pei brigades)."

In the 22nd year (1683) it was changed to Yung-pei hsieh 協 territorial regiment. In the 26th year (1687) Lan-ts'ang wei was abolished and all the collected taxes were taken and brought into the chou (district). In the 31st year (1692) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳, examined the frontier and reported to the Emperor that it was an important and strategic land, and Pei-sheng chou was made the Chih-li chou 直隸州 (Independent department) reporting direct to the provincial government. Later it was changed back to Yung-pei chen. In the 37th year (1698) the Pei-sheng chih-li chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei (Yung-pei fu 永北府) and the Yung-ning t'ung chih 同知 (sub-prefect) was changed to the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect under whose rule the hereditary Yung-ning native prefect was placed. In the 38th year (1699) Shun chou 順州 subject to Ho-ch'ing fu was also placed under the rule of the sub-prefect.

"In the 32nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1767) the fu-magistracy was changed and was made an independent sub-prefecture or chih-li-t'ing 直隸廳 subject to I-hsi tao 迤西道.[19]

"In the 35th year (1770) the Chen 鎮 or brigade was changed into a Ying or battalion, governed by a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel), subject to the Ho-li chen 鶴麗鎮 (Ho-ch'ing–Li-chiang brigades).

---

[17] Kao Ts'e was the son of Kao Pin-hsiang 高斌祥, native prefect of Pei-sheng during the Yüan dynasty. who, when he made his submission to the Ming dynasty, was reduced to a superintendent or prefect of the second class.

[18] The ancient military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) is the present city of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) according to the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fol. 6b.

[19] I-hsi is a circuit in the west of Yün-nan comprising Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei, Li-chiang, and Meng-hua, but in reality it comprises the entire west of Yün-nan beginning west of K'un-ming.

● 173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it.

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 囉水 and She-k'ua 奢跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

---

[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章齡高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡兇坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 普角.

[25] རིན་འཛོམ་དགོན་པ

CHAPTER II

FAMILY CHRONICLES OF THE YUNG-NING T'U-SSU

In the possession of the family of the present Yung-ning chiefs there are two brief chronicles written in Chinese and in manuscript form. One of these chronicles begins with the first ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi, who makes his appearance in local history in the year 1381, when he submitted to the Ming dynasty with all his subjects; it ends with A Heng-fang of the 19th generation, born on May 7th, 1830. The second chronicle is an abridged account of the first and ends with the present T'u-ssu, A Min-han 阿民漢, great-grandson of A Heng-fang.

The late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan (Governor) (PLATE 213), a close relative of the T'u-ssu, claimed, like the rest of the A family of Yung-ning (PLATE 214), to be of Mongol origin and descendant of a Mongol officer or officers left by Kublai Khan to rule Yung-ning, when on his conquest of Yün-nan in 1253. The A family has always told me that they considered themselves Mongols, and their build and physiognomy bear out their statement. The first ancestor who appears in their biographical history at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1381, does not bear a Mongol but a genuine Na-khi name. The name P'u-dtu is distinctly Na-khi, and is the term for a closely braided basket which does not leak. It is also perhaps a clan name, for the Na-khi of Li-chiang are divided into the P'u-dtu, Gv-hö, Gv-ndza and other clans. Each clan performs its special propitiation of Heaven (Muan̲-bpö) (PLATE 65) on specified days in the first moon, the date varying for each clan. The origin of the names or their real meaning is now no more ascertainable.

1. CHRONICLE ACCORDING TO THE 19TH DESCENDANT, A HENG-FANG

"An official family record of the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Heng-fang.

Pu-tu-ko-chi, the first ancestor: "My Personal Deposition:

"I, the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan 雲南永寧府, named A Heng-fang 阿恆芳, aged fifty-eight, having a purple-colored face with a small beard, being a subordinate official of the magistracy of the directly ruled t'ing-city of Yung-pei 永北廳, state in my evidence that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉. In the 14th year of the period of Ming Hung-wu (1381), this ancestor submitted to the Imperial rule with all his subjects of the chou-city of Yung-ning. The application of his submission was duly sent to the Emperor, who reappointed Pu-tu-ko-chi as prefect of the city of Yung-ning to govern all his tribespeople, and to defend his whole territory in the same way as he had done before. Meanwhile, this ancestor died of illness in his official residence, and the case was duly reported to the Imperial court.

●173 *The second generation:* My ancestor of the second generation was named Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八介 and, as the son of the previous prefect, succeeded to his father's position, and pacified all the land to his southern boundaries. In the 12th moon of the third year of Ming Yung-lo (December, 1405–January, 1406) he led the Huo-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-heads) of the four villages of Hsiang-lo 香羅,[1] Ko-tien 革甸, Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之 and La-tz'u-ho 剌次和, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a 板必他, Tz'u-lang 次郎, Pu-chi-fen 卜吉分 and A-chih-chü 可只苴, to the Imperial capital to have audience with the Emperor.

On the 24th of the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo (May 12th, 1406) Ko-chi-pa-ho received an Imperial despatch, which ordered his chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫 (Functionary of the third class honor), and appointed him also as the local prefect of Yung-ning. In the territory of the four villages Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 (Senior village officials) were established, and they were all put under his rule.

"To his subordinates, that is Pan-pi-t'a and the other three fire-heads, the Emperor gave four letters patent and five official seals, conferring on each of them the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fifth rank); he appointed each of them also as the vice-senior officials of their respective villages. The Emperor again appointed Ko-chih-pa-ho as prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, and gave him a golden belt, inlaid with flowers befitting his official rank, and engraved in its center, with the four Chinese characters *K'o Tu Chung Cheng* 克篤忠貞 (Capable of continued loyalty and uprightness). All these Imperial letters patent and appointments were duly received and read with expressions of thanks for the grace of the Emperor. This ancestor Ko-chih-pa-ho died in office on account of old age and a certain illness.

Third generation: "On the 15th of the ninth moon of the 12th year of Yung-lo (1414),[2] my ancestor of the third generation, named Pu-sa 卜撒, succeeded to his father's position, and assumed his official duties in due time. On a certain night of the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October, 1417) his territory was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei 剌馬非, rebel chief and tribal official of the Tso-so Salt-well garrison, Yen-ching wei Tso-so 鹽井衞左所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan, who killed Pu-sa. On the 24th of the sixth moon of the 21st year of Yung-lo (July 31st, 1423), Nan-pa 南八, second son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, succeeded to his brother Pu-sa's position as the local prefect. He assumed his official duties in due time; meanwhile, a part of his territory was again boldly invaded and occupied by a tribal chief of the Salt-well garrison Wu-so 鹽井衞丘所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan.[3]

---

[1] Hsiang-lo, according to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 23–24, was 150 li north of Yung-ning, Ko-tien 120 li north-west, Wa-lu-chih 280 li north, and La-tz'u-ho 240 li north-east of Yung-ning. At the latter place a senior official whose name was A, resided in the third year of Yung-lo (1405).

[2] That year had two ninth moons, so he could have assumed his position either on September 28th, 1414, or October 28th of that year.

[3] The Wu-so (Five So) are five semi-independent chieftains, who rule to this day their

This case was accordingly reported to the Brigade-General and the two Provincial Commissioners, who duly attended to the matter. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), an application was made on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and established two transferable officials, namely a sub-prefect and a chief secretary, in the prefect's yamen. Their official residences were built in the city of Lan-ts'ang wei. They took charge of the official seals and defended their territory.

Fourth to tenth generation: "Ancestor Nan-pa died in office of illness, and thereupon A-chü 阿苴, of the fourth generation, succeeded to his father's position as the local prefect on the 18th of the sixth moon of the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (July 28th, 1458). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (September 12th, 1484), A-ch'o 阿綽, blood-brother of A-chü, succeeded to his brother's position as the local prefect. He died of illness. On the 9th of the second moon of the 9th year of Hung-chih 弘治 (February 22nd, 1496), A-kuei 阿[illegible], of the fifth generation, succeeded to his father A-cho's position as local prefect. He died in office of illness, and on the 14th of the sixth moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (July 24th, 1515), A-hui 阿輝, of the sixth generation, succeeded to his father A-kuei's position as local prefect. There were born A-ho 阿和 and A-che 阿哲, of the seventh generation. On the 16th of the sixth moon of the 9th year of Chia-ching (July 10th, 1530), A-hui died of illness, and on the 24th of the fourth moon of the 19th year of Chia-ching (May 29th, 1540), A-ho succeeded to his father A-hui's position as local prefect. While in office he begot A-ying 阿英 and A-hsiung 阿雄. A-ho died of illness, and A-ying, his elder son and ancestor of the eighth generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect on the 5th day of the ninth moon, the 36th year of Chia-ching (September 27th, 1557). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 5th of the ninth moon of the 2nd year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1574), A-hsiung, second son of A-ho, succeeded to his brother A-ying's position as local prefect. A-hsiung left no heir, and A-pu 阿卜, elder son of A-ho's blood-brother A-che, should have succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect, but on account of his ill-health he was unable to do so. In the 14th year of Wan-li (1586), A-hsiung died of illness and A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠, elder son of A-pu, had the right to succeed to his position. On the 9th of the third moon of the 19th year of Wan-li (1591),[4] A Ch'eng-chung, ancestor of the ninth generation, succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect. During his tenure of office there was born to him A-ch'üan 阿銓. In the 38th year of Wan-li (1610), A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect. On the 5th of the sixth moon of the 42nd year of Wan-li (July 11th, 1614), he assumed his official duties. In the 8th year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1635), he begot A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒. A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, died of illness in his official residence, and A Chen-ch'i, of the 11th generation, succeeded to his father A-ch'üan's position as local prefect.

---

various territories in the south-west corner of Ssu-ch'uan; two of them, the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so, adjoin Yung-ning on the east.

[4] In that year there were two third moons. The date for the first third moon is April 2nd, 1591, and for the second, May 1st, 1591.

● 173 *Eleventh and twelfth generation:* "In the fourth moon of the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih (May–June, 1659), when the Imperial troops came to Yün-nan, A Chen-ch'i sent messengers to them, and returned to allegiance. He was then permitted to rule his district as usual. In the meantime he received an Imperial note, informing him that all the tribal chiefs of the province of Yün-nan had followed his example by returning to allegiance. On account of the merit he had thus acquired the Board of Civil Office issued him special instructions, stating that he had been definitely appointed local prefect. The appointment was duly received and he assumed his official duties accordingly. In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), he begot A T'ing-k'un 阿廷錕. He died of illness on the 2nd of the eighth moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (August 27th, 1669). In the third moon of the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (April–May, 1670), the Provincial Governor sent an application on behalf of A T'ing-k'un to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and permitted him to succeed his father A Chen-ch'i in the position of local prefect.

Wu San-kuei's Revolt: "In the eleventh moon of the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1673), when the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government, A T'ing-k'un was forced to hand over his Imperial appointment, and an illegal appointment was then issued by Wu, compelling him to rule his district as before and to restrain the Fan 番 and I 夷 (Tibetans and Lo-lo). On the the 19th of the fourth moon of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (May 13th, 1675), during his tenure of office he begot A Chin-hui 阿錦琿. In the eighth moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), A T'ing-k'un, hearing that the troops of the present Imperial court had restored the province of Ssu-ch'uan, sent special messengers to the town of Chien-ch'ang chen 建昌鎮 and first offered to return to allegiance by putting himself under the command of the Yung-lüeh General 勇畧將軍, to whom accordingly he handed the illegal appointment. In the seventh moon of the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (August, 1682), Viceroy Ts'ai 督部堂蔡 holding the additional title of Sui-yüan General 綏遠將軍, issued him an official dispatch, ordering him to assume his official duties, to restrain all his aborigines, and to rule his district. In the first moon of the 24th year of K'ang-hsi (February, 1685), Viceroy Ts'ai sent a nomination on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and issued him official letters patent. In the same moon of the same year, A T'ing-k'un received his official appointment, and obeyed the Imperial order by assuming his official duties in due time. In the eleventh moon of the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1698), he received instructions from the Board of Civil Office, ordering the chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, and to be under the control of the fu-city of Yung-pei; he was bidden to do his official duties as usual, in restraining the aborigines and paying his land taxes to the government.

Thirteenth generation: "In the sixth moon of the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (July–August, 1705), A T'ing-k'un, on account of his suffering from chronic rheumatism, was unable to perform his official duties. He therefore applied for permission to resign, and A Chin-hui 阿錦琿, ancestor of the 13th generation and elder son of A T'ing-k'un, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the fourth moon of the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (May, 1706), through the courtesy of the Provincial Treasurer his case was reported in detail to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who put their joint signatures to an application on his behalf which they forwarded to the Board. On the 20th of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1797) the Board favoured A Chin-hui by issuing him letters patent as local prefect, which he duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. In the eighth moon of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi (September–October, 1711), he suffered from a paralytic stroke, which was found incurable. On the 20th of the eleventh moon of the same year (December 29th, 1711), he died of illness while still in office.

"A Hsi-yüan 阿錫瑗, elder son of A Chin-hui, became thus the rightful heir to his father's position. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated his blood-uncle, A Chin-hsien 阿錦先, to comfort and support the orphan, and to assist in managing local affairs. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), A Hsi-yüan came of age. On the 13th of the ninth moon of the 1st year of Yung-cheng (October 11th, 1723) while the application requesting his right of inheritance was being prepared, he died suddenly of illness. His death was due to a natural cause, and the news was reported clearly to the court. He left neither an heir nor any blood-brothers. The case was investigated and it was proved that the local official secretary, A Chin-hsien, was in truth the blood-brother of A Chin-hui. Now, A Hsi-yüan was dead, therefore A Chin-hsien, ancestor of the 13th generation, was the rightful successor to his brother's position as ruler of this district. There were no corrupt practices at all in this matter. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) applications were sent to the Provincial Government, requesting that he be permitted to succeed his brother, A Chin-hui, in the position of local prefect. On the 26th of the third intercalary moon of the 5th year of Yung-cheng (May 16th, 1727), the Viceroy sent his nomination to the Board of Civil Office, which then issued him letters patent, appointing him local prefect, and authorizing him to assume his official duties. On the 2nd of the first moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1727) he suffered from heart trouble and gout, which was found to be incurable, and on the 4th of the fourth moon of the same year (May 24th, 1727) he died as the result of his illness.

Fourteenth generation: "A Yu-wei 阿有威, ancestor of the 14th generation and elder son of A Chin-hsien, was examined by the Provincial Treasurer, and found to be the rightful heir and successor to his father's position. The case was duly reported on his behalf to both Viceroy and Provincial Governor, who then joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Board, which issued official letters patent in his favor appointing him local prefect. This was on the 20th of the third moon of the 6th year of Yung-cheng (April 28th, 1728). The appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties.

"In the sixth moon of the same year (July), the Nung tribe 儂人 rebelled against the government. A Yu-wei was instructed by Defence Commissioner Liu 柳 of Yung-pei to send his local militiamen to exterminate the rebels. A Yu-wei selected 300 men to join the government troops, and advanced with them to La-ju-wo 臘汝窩, where they assisted each other in carrying on a

173 campaign against the robbers. Pursuing the rebels to Tso-so territory, they captured the leader of the brigands alive. In the twelfth moon of the 11th year of Yung-cheng (January, 1734), the Emperor rewarded the headman of the militia with 16 taels of silver, and each of the 299 militiamen with one tael and two candareens of silver. In receiving this reward, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor. In the fifth moon of the 10th year of Yung-cheng (June–July, 1732), on account of a certain massacre caused through mutual enmity among the tribespeople, Defence Commissioner Liu of Yung-pei instructed A Yu-wei to send his local militiamen to assist the government troops in their campaign to exterminate those robbers. He accordingly selected 500 local volunteers, and advanced with them to the place of fighting. Owing to his careful planning and cooperating with the government troops, the leader of the Hsi-fan robbers, named Cha-shih-teng 乍實等, was captured alive. After withdrawing his own troops, he received instructions from the Emperor, who rewarded Ch'i-k'o-ch'u 啓可初, headman of the militia, with 26⅗ taels of silver, and each of the 499 militiamen with a silver medal. In the tenth moon of the 1st year of Ch'ien-lung (November, 1736), he respectfully received a gracious Imperial mandate, stating that all those chiefs and local prefects governing the tribespeople of Yün-nan province who wished to apply for hereditary rank, were requested to do so by sending a careful report, together with their nominations to the Emperor. Ancestor A Yu-wei reported in conformity with the usual regulations to the Imperial court, which then issued him two Imperial mandates, one conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 忠憲大夫 (Functionary of the fourth class honor) and the other appointing him local prefect. While in office there were born to him two sons named A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌 and A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌 respectively.

Fifteenth generation: "In the fourth moon of the 5th year of Ch'ien-lung (April 26th–May 24th, 1740), A Yu-wei died of illness; therefore in accordance with the usual custom A Shih-ch'ang, his elder son, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the tenth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 8th–December 7th, 1741) the Provincial Treasurer reported on A Shih-ch'ang's behalf to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who again joined their signatures in his favor to nominate him to the Emperor. In the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747), official letters patent were issued to him, appointing him local [native] prefect. The latter were duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. On the 23rd of the second moon of the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 30, 1769), A Shih-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-pi 阿良弼, his elder son and ancestor of the 16th generation, became the rightful heir and successor. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated Chang-shih 章氏, mother of A Liang-pi, to comfort and support him [the minor]. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) he died of illness without having succeeded to his father's position and left no heir. The Provincial Treasurer 布政司 Ch'ien 錢 investigated this matter carefully in his favor and reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy 督部堂 Chang 彰 and the Provincial Governor 撫部院 Na 納, asking them to permit A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌, blood-uncle of A

Liang-pi, to inherit the office. It was known that A Ch'i-ch'ang was the second son of the late native prefect A Yu-wei by his first wife Chang-shih, therefore it was found in order for A Ch'i-ch'ang to succeed to his brother's position. Meanwhile, nominations were sent in his favor to the Emperor, who issued him official letters patent, appointing him local prefect. On the 9th of the ninth moon of the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (October 16th, 1771), the appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties, to rule over his district, and to restrain the aborigines.

Sixteenth generation: "On the 20th of the second moon of the 1st year of Chia-ch'ing (March 28th, 1796), A Ch'i-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-fu 阿良輔, ancestor of the 16th generation and elder son of A ch'i-ch'ang by his first wife A-shih 阿氏, became the rightful heir to the position. On the 29th of the third moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing (April 25th, 1797), the Provincial Treasurer Ch'en 陳 reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy Lo 勒 and the Provincial Governor Chiang 江, who, favoring him, sent his nomination to the Emperor, and asked permission for him to assume his hereditary post. Official letters patent were then issued to him, appointing him native prefect. On the 12th of the third moon of the 3rd year of Chia-ch'ing (April 27th, 1798), the said appointment was received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. Sometime before this, in the 1st year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796), the wild Lo-lo robbers of Wei-yüan 威遠 created trouble.

The Provincial Governor sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating those wild tribes. A Liang-fu 阿良輔 selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a captain to lead them. They were to join the government troops, and advanced to the place of trouble in order to assist in this campaign. On account of the excellent service rendered by the militiamen in putting the Lo-los to the sword, both the captain and the men were rewarded by all the high authorities of the military headquarters with silver medals, cows and wine. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor again relieved the relatives of the killed and wounded militiamen in the war, by granting them an indemnity of 80 taels of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor.

"In the sixth intercalary moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing, (July 24th-August 21, 1797), the Chung Miao 狆苗[5] of Nan-lung 南籠 committed unlawful acts, and the Viceroy Lo 勒 sent dispatches to all chiefs, ordering them to send the militiamen under their command to join the government troops, in order to reduce those tribes to submission. A Liang-fu selected 50 men of his militia, and appointed a headman to command them, and advanced with them to assist in attacking the enemy. Meanwhile he was again instructed to send his militia to assist in the attack. This time he selected 30 men and appointed a headman to command them and to accompany the government troops and assist in conquering the tribes. On account of this meritorious service, both the headman and the militia were rewarded with silver medals, silver ingots, cows and wine, which gifts were duly received and distributed to them all. This time, each of the headman of the militia was rewarded with six taels of silver, and three taels of silver to repair their clothing. Before they started on their journey, each of them was paid two taels of silver for the support of his home. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor relieved relatives of the killed and wounded in the war by granting them an indemnity of a considerable amount of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks. Meanwhile, A Liang-fu was instructed by the government to attend to certain military affairs at Wei-hsi 維西; this task he accomplished without the slightest fault or delay. On the 20th of the ninth moon of the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (October 22nd, 1815), A Liang-fu, ancestor of the 16th generation, suffered from a cold which was then found to be incurable. On the 29th of the same moon of the same year, (October 31st), he succumbed to his illness.

---

[5] Either the Hei-chung-miao 黑狆苗 or the Chung-chia 狆家 and Miao-tzu 苗子 tribes are meant, all of which live in the province of Kuei-chou where Nan-lung is situated.

Seventeenth generation: "A Hui-yüan 阿會元, ancestor of the 17th generation and elder son of A Liang-fu by his first wife Chang-shih 章氏, had reached maturity, and was, therefore, found to be the rightful heir to his father's position. In the first moon of the 21st year of Chia-ch'ing, (February, 1816), the Provincial Treasurer Han 韓 reported in his favor to both the Viceroy Po 伯 and the Provincial Governor Ch'en 陳, who again joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Emperor, who then issued him an official dispatch, appointing him as the native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. On the 25th of the first moon of the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (March 12th, 1817), letters patent were duly received which authorized him to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes to the government.

"In the first year of the period of Tao-kuang (1821), Lo-lo robbers created trouble in the district of Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪,[6] in the territory ruled over by two aboriginal chiefs named Kao 高 and Chang 章 respectively. A Hui-yüan received instructions from the Viceroy, stating that the Emperor had approved his report, and that government troops of the two provinces Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan would shortly be dispatched to capture or exterminate those robbers. No sooner had he received this information, than the Superintendent of Military Affairs and Intendant of the Circuit of West Yün-nan 迤西道 named Hsieh 謝, and the Sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to guard all important passes and prevent the robbers crossing them. A Hui-yüan accordingly selected 300 volunteers and appointed a headman to command them to meet the enemy. He was again instructed to transport rations for the soldiers and to furnish provisions to the chair-coolies and horses. These services he performed without the slightest delay.

"In the 25th year of the period of Tao-kuang (1845), when the Mohammedan robbers of Mi-tu 彌渡[7] and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble, he was instructed by Sub-prefect Liu 劉 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen to escort the soldiers' rations. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them in order to escort the transport of the soldiers' rations to the Military Commissariat of the city of Ta-li. The rations were delivered safely to that bureau and without delay.

---

[6] Chiu-ya-p'ing is the present day Hua-p'ing 華坪 and is east of Yung-sheng on the Yung-sheng–K'un-ming highway.

[7] Mi-tu is 30 li south of Hung-ngai and two and a half days south-east of Ta-li. Yung-

In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), Yao Shan 藥山,[8] a region under the rule of the chief of Lang-ch'ü was made unsafe by bands of highway robbers. A Hui-yüan was therefore instructed by sub-prefect Hsiung 熊 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen and attack the brigands. He selected 300 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order that they might advance and join the government troops to ward off the brigands. Again, he was instructed to superintend the transporting of the soldiers' rations, and to find chair-coolies and horses. He performed these services without delinquency or delay. While in office, there was born his first son, A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, who was duly reported to the government for registration.

"Now, when A Yü-hsing had reached maturity, he was found to be the rightful successor to his father's position. However, owing to pressing affairs and bad communications, he was prevented from sending his report to the government and could not apply for his right of inheritance. In the sixth moon of the eighth year of Hsien-feng (July 11th-August 8th, 1858), hairy rebels created trouble at Tali.[9] The Provincial Commander-in-Chief 提督軍門 Ch'u 褚 sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to assist the government troops in exterminating the rebels. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to ward off the enemy. He was again instructed to raise funds to pay the soldiers, and he duly delivered the same safely to the General Military Commissariat of the city of Yung-pei 永北軍需總局. In the first moon of the 11th year of Hsien-feng, (February 10th-March 10th, 1861) the hairy rebels came to Yung-pei. Sub-prefect Hu 胡 of Yung-pei sent him an order to mobilize his troops to exterminate the robbers. He then selected 300 militia and a headman and sent them against the rebels. He was also ordered to send funds for the pay of soldiers. In the seventh

---

ch'ang (Pao-shan 保山) is in the south-west of Yün-nan four stages north-east of T'eng-yüeh on the highway between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝).

[8] Yao Shan (Medicine Mountain) is a high range which extends from north to south, west and south of Yung-hing. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

[9] The so-called hairy rebels here mentioned are none other than the Mohammedans of Ta-li. The *Yung-pei chih-li t'ing chih* ch. 3, fol. 59b relates that in the sixth year and eighth moon of Hsien-feng (August 30th-September 28th, 1856), the Mohammedans of Ta-li rebelled. In the battle with the rebels, magistrate Mao Yü-ch'eng 毛玉成, who led the native troops. was killed. The Moslem robbers of the western district thereupon captured Ta-li and also Yung-ch'ang where they established themselves. The Moslem native, by name Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. was made their chief and took the title of Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. They allowed their hair to grow long, cast a false seal, appointed illegal officials, and hoisted their own flag, white in color. They also changed their type of garments and headgear, and established a false calendar.

● 173 month of the same year, the city of Yung-pei was captured by the hairy rebels. Sub-prefect Wu 吳 of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to join the government troops, in order to attack the enemy. He was again instructed to secure military rice. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 500 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in attacking and exterminating the robbers. He performed these services without delay. In the tenth moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-chih (November 11th–December 10th, 1863), he again attacked the lair of the robbers at Yung-ch'eng 永城.[10] He also received an urgent dispatch from sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei, instructing him to mobilize his militia and to secure military rice. He accordingly selected 200 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in exterminating the robbers. In the 4th year of T'ung-chih (1865), on account of the robbers attacking the city of Yung-ch'ang, sub-prefect Ts'ao 曹 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, instructing him to order his militiamen to assault the city of Yung-ch'ang. Ancestor A Hui-yüan selected 300 volunteers to assist in this campaign. He was then instructed to raise 2,000 taels for military purposes; this amount he paid without delay. On the 10th of the first moon of the 6th year of T'ung-chih (February 14th, 1867), being advanced in years, he became ill. From this illness he never recovered. On the 28th of the same moon (March 4th) he died in office. The date of his death was carefully reported to sub-prefect Na 納 of the city of Yung-pei, who forwarded the same on his behalf to the government for registration.

Eighteenth generation: "After certain investigations, it was found that A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, ancestor of the 18th generation, was the elder son of native prefect A Hui-yüan of the fu-city of Yung-ning by his first wife, A-shih 阿氏. He was born on the 16th of the second moon of the 16th year of Chia-ch'ing (March 10th, 1811), therefore A Yü-hsing was the rightful heir to his father's position. Since he did not formally apply for his right of inheritance, he was given only an ordinary appointment. He received the same in due time, and was thus authorized to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribespeople, and pay the land taxes. In the eleventh moon of the 8th year of T'ung-chih (December 3rd, 1869–January 1st, 1870), while the city of Yung-ch'ang was being attacked, he received an urgent dispatch from each of the high authorities, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen and assist in exterminating the robbers. He was also instructed to secure chair-coolies and military rice, etc. My father, A Yü-hsing, personally led his militiamen to render assistance in exterminating the robbers. As he travelled through many humid regions, his limbs became afflicted with gout.

"At that time he was already 60 years of age, and, since he was unable to perform his official duties, he applied for permission to resign, and requested that his elder son A Heng-fang 阿恆芳 be allowed to succeed him. This was duly reported to sub-prefect Kuo 郭 of the city of Yung-pei. While documents were being drawn up on his behalf by sub-prefect Kuo asking each of the high authorities to consent to his right of inheritance, on account of his father's old age, ill-health, and retirement, this sub-prefect died in office of illness, hence the documents could not be forwarded to the government.

---

[10] That is Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng 永勝, four stages east of Li-chiang.

Nineteenth generation: "In truth, my name is A Heng-fang, and I was born by A-shih 阿氏, my mother and the first wife of my father, A Yü-hsing, on the 15th of the fourth moon of the 10th year of Tao-kuang (May 6th, 1830). I am the elder son of my father, therefore I am the rightful heir and successor to his position. This had not been reported to the government, although I had reached majority and am eligible to inherit my father's position. Therefore I sent on the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (September 18th–October 16th, 1876), my personal depositions to sub-prefect Wu 吳 of the city of Yung-pei, containing a careful description of my physical features, ancestral history, official seal-print, the geographic maps of my territory, and other evidences, in the form of a statistical table. I had hoped that he would report on my behalf to Intendant Hsiung 熊 of the Circuit of West Yün-nan, who would in turn report on my behalf to the Provincial Treasurer, who would report to both the Viceroy Liu 劉, and the Provincial Governor Tu 杜. The latter were to nominate me to the Emperor, requesting him to grant me the right to assume my ancestors' hereditary position. I also sent most respectfully my report to the Emperor. On the 3rd of the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (April 23rd, 1879) I received from sub-prefect Hu 胡 of the city of Yung-pei an official diploma together with an official dispatch, informing me that letters patent had been issued on behalf of the native prefect A Heng-fang of the fu-city of Yung-ning on the 13th of the second moon of the 4th year of Kuang-hsü (March 16th, 1878) by the Board of Civil Office, but it was delivered through the Board of War and Viceroy Liu. I immediately wrote a reply acknowledging the receipt of these letters patent authorizing me to assume my official duties, rule over my district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes. I am now still holding this position. My first wife was named Ch'eng-shih 程氏, and gave birth to my elder son, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, on the 26th of the first moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (February 20th, 1876). On account of his minority, he is now unable to rule over this district, but he has already been registered to succeed me in the future.[11] This is here added simply for the purpose of rendering a clear and complete statement."[12]

2. ACCORDING TO THE 22ND DESCENDANT, A MIN-HAN

"An official family record of the Native prefects of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Min-han.

"On account of services rendered in supplying military rice in the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th,

---

[11] This was the late retired T'u-ssu (Chief) of Yung-ning. He died in the summer of 1938.

[12] Here follows a statement regarding the four boundaries of Yung-ning, which are practically the same as described on p. 364.

173

1930), Colonel Kao Yin-huai 高蔭槐 did me the favour of requesting the Provincial Government to grant me the right of inheritance. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931), Provincial Chairman Lung 龍主席 sent me a dispatch approving the said request, and I, A Min-han, descendant of the 22nd generation of my clan, am thus authorized to succeed to my ancestral position. I have two brothers named A Min-chu 阿民柱 and A Min-fan 阿民藩 respectively.

"My Personal Deposition:

"I, the native prefect A Min-han 阿民漢 of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the hsien-city of Yung-pei, state that I am now 22 years of age,[13] of middle stature, white-faced and beardless, and that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi. In the reign of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398), this ancestor submitted himself and the people of his chou-city of Yung-ning to the Imperial rule, and the Emperor approved his request and appointed him native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning, in order that he could rule over the Fan-i 番夷 (barbarous tribes) and defend his territory. Ko-chi-pa-ho, my ancestor of the second generation, conquered the southern frontier of our district. On account of this service, he was promoted to the position of native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. Thenceforth, one generation succeeded the other till A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒, my ancestor of the eleventh generation, who, submitting to the Imperial rule in the reign of Shun-chih of the Ch'ing 淸 dynasty (1644–1661), was then appointed to rule over his district and permitted to assume his hereditary position as native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning.

Twentieth generation: "This position was inherited by many generations till the time of A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who is of the 20th generation, and who is my grandfather. In the 20th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty (1894), he succeeded to his father's position. At that time he sent a statement to the provincial authorities, petitioning them to permit his elder son A Chan-k'o 阿占科 to be his rightful successor. On the 26th of the eighth moon of the 12th year of the Chinese Republic (October 6th, 1923),[14] my father A Chan-k'o unfortunately died of illness. Since I was the elder son of A Chan-k'o and the grandson of A Ying-jui, a report was sent to the magistrate of the hsien-city of Yung-pei, asking that my right of inheritance be confirmed.

Twenty-second generation: "In the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th, 1930), Colonel Kao of the 3rd regiment reported in my favour to Lung Yün 龍雲, Chairman of the Provin-

---

[13] This is not correct, for he was born in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung 宣統 (1910). Even reckoning the Chinese way, he would be only 21 and not 22 years of age.

[14] This is incorrect, as A Chan-k'o was alive on February 5th, 1924, the Chinese New Year of the 13th year of the Republic, when he received me at the yamen of Yung-ning with his father A Ying-jui who was then still living.

In the family tree of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu it gives the date of the demise of A Chan-k'o as the eighth moon of the 16th year of the Republic, and if he died on the 26th of the eighth moon of that year this would be equivalent to the 21st of September, 1927, which is probably correct.

173

cial Government, requesting him to grant me the right of inheritance and to issue me an official appointment. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931) I received the appointment. As my grandfather A Ying-jui is old and feeble, he applied for permission to resign, which was duly approved and registered. On the first of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 19th, 1931), after receiving my appointment, I succeeded to his position and assumed my official duties. All that I have stated in my deposition is true and without mistake. I hope you will fully acquaint yourself with the foregoing.

"My Official Title:

"My official title is 'The Hereditary Native Prefect A Min-han of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the hsien-city of Yung-pei.' "

3. ACCORDING TO THE YUNG-PEI CHIH-LI T'ING CHIH

The *Yung-pei Chih-li t'ing chih* gives in ch. 3, pp. 36b–41a, a brief account of the family history of the ruling T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. There are certain discrepancies between the personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs and those published in the Yung-pei Records, and a translation of the latter is here given, for comparison. The first personal records are in manuscript form and are in the possession of the Yung-ning chiefs, who kindly permitted me to have them copied. The second, printed in the official gazetteer of Yung-pei, under whose jurisdiction Yung-ning comes, is long out of print and only one copy is available in K'un-ming, and not accessible to every one. [Two copies of this work, besides the very rare *Yung-pei fu chih*, are in my private library.] A translation of the records pertaining to Yung-ning and the other Na-khi T'u-ssu and their territory, is here appended.

In the Ming dynasty:

Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉: He held the position of native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning. In the 14th year of the period of Hung-wu (1381), he and all his subjects submitted to the government, which appointed him native prefect of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year of the same period (1396), his district became subordinate to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (Lan-ts'ang wei 瀾滄衛).

Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合: Son of the former, succeeded to his father's position as prefect of their chou-city. In the third year of Yung-lo (1401), he governed the four places called Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December 22nd 1405–January 19th, 1406), his fire-heads (headmen) of the Hsi-fan tribe, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a, Pu-lang 布郎,[15] Pu-chi-fen and A-chih-chü, went to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, who was so pleased with them that in the fourth year of the same reign (1402), he sent Imperial letters patent to Ko-chi-pa-ho, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city

---

[15] In the personal family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is given as Tz'u-lang 次郎. The territory of these former four officials belongs now to Mu-li.

173

of Yung-ning. He also conferred on him the additional honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu (Functionary of the third class honor). In his four subordinate villages, namely Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior officials) were established, while on each of the fire-heads, Pan-pi-t'a, etc., was conferred the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fourth rank), by five Imperial mandates and six official seals.[16] He was also given a golden belt inlaid with silver flowers, and carved with four Chinese characters: *K'o Tu Chung Ch'eng* 克篤忠誠[17] (Capable of continued loyalty and honesty), by a separate Imperial mandate. In the eighth moon of the same year (September 12th–October 11th, 1406), he obeyed the Imperial order by changing his chou-city to a fu-city, and assumed his official duties in due time, governing the four senior officials of the four places, Hsiang-lo, etc., as his subordinates. In the 10th year of the same reign (1412), the Emperor conferred on his father Pu-tu-ko-chi the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu, and on both his mother A-ta 阿大 and his wife Chia-shih 甲失 the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人.

Pu-sa 卜撒: In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413)[18] he succeeded to his father's position as prefect of the fu-city. In the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October 10th–November 8th, 1417), on a certain night, his district was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei, the native official of the Tso-so Salt-well military station in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, and Pu-sa was murdered. His younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position.

Nan-pa 南八: In the 21st year of Yung-lo (1423), after he had succeeded to his brother's position, his district was again boldly invaded and occupied by the local Wu-so chiefs of Ssu-ch'uan. Both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor sent men to investigate this matter on his behalf. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), reports were submitted to the Emperor, who duly granted his requests by appointing two additional officials, a transferable sub-prefect, and a transferable secretary of records at the military station of Lan-ts'ang. An official yamen was then built for their use within that city. These two officials took charge of the seals and defended their territory.

A-chü 阿苴: Son of Nan-pa. In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), he succeeded to the position of prefect of the fu-city. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-ch'o 阿綽: Younger brother of A-chü, succeeded him in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466).[19]

---

[16] The manuscript family records of the Yung-ning chiefs mention only four credentials and five seals.

[17] In the Yung-ning family records of the T'u-ssu the last character is *cheng* 貞.

[18] In the private family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the date is given as the 12th year (1414).

[19] The personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the date as the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Cheng-hua (September 12th, 1484).

A-kuei 阿貴: Son of A-ch'o, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496).

A-hui 阿暉: Son of A-kuei, succeeded the latter in the 10th year of Cheng-te (1515).

A-ho 阿和: Son of A-hui, succeeded him in the 10th year of Chia-ching (1531).[20]

A-ying 阿英: Son of A-ho, succeeded him in the 36th year of Chia-ching (1557). He left no heir.

A-hsiung 阿雄: Younger brother of A-ying. In the second year of Wan-li (1574), he assumed office. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-pu 阿卜: Elder son of his younger brother A-che 阿哲, of the same mother, succeeded him. Meanwhile, on account of A-pu's ill-health, A Ch'eng-chung, his elder son, assumed office.

A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠: He succeeded to the official position in the 19th year of Wan-li (1591).

A-ch'üan 阿銓: Son of A Ch'eng-chung, succeeded to his position in the 42nd year of the reign of Wan-li (1614).

In the Ch'ing dynasty:

A Chen-ling 阿鎮麟:[21] Son of A-ch'üan. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) as the Imperial troops reached Yün-nan, he and his subordinates submitted to the Imperial rule. He was then ordered to rule over his district. Meanwhile, the Board of Civil Office issued him official letters patent, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

A T'ing-k'un 阿廷錕: Son of A Chen-ling, assumed office in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670). In the 12th year of the same reign (1673) the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government. In the 19th year (1680), when the Imperial troops recovered Yün-nan, he went with his subordinates to Ssu-ch'uan, and there made his submission to the Imperial rule. In the 24th year (1685) he received an official dispatch ordering him to assume his official duties. In the 37th year (1698), instructions were received ordering the chou-city of Pei-sheng to be changed to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The fu-city of Yung-ning was then made subordinate to the fu-city of Yung-pei. A T'ing-k'un was also instructed to rule over his district and to restrain the tribespeople as heretofore.

A Chin-hui 阿錦輝: Elder son of A T'ing-k'un, succeeded to the latter's position in the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706). He died of illness and left no heir.

A Chin-hsien 阿錦先: Younger brother of A Chin-hui, succeeded him in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727).

[20] The private records give the 19th year (1540).

[21] In the private records the name is given as ch'i 麒 instead of ling 麟.

173 *A Yu-wei* 阿有威: Son of A Chin-hsien, succeeded him in the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728). In the sixth moon (July) of the same year, owing to the rebellion of the Nung 𤢊 tribe he was instructed by Brigade-General 総鎮 Liu 柳 to send his militia to the lair at La-ju to exterminate the robbers. He was then rewarded with certain gifts. In the 10th year of the same reign (1732), murders took place among Hsi-fan tribespeople who had rebelled; he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu to order his militiamen to join the government troops, and assist in exterminating the rebels. Meanwhile, he succeeded in capturing the Hsi-fan (leader) Cha-shih-teng 乍實等 of Liao-tu 料度. He was then rewarded by the Emperor for his military services. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), two Imperial dispatches of grace were sent to him, conferring on him certain honorary titles.

A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌: Son of A Yu-wei, who died when his son was only seven years old. His mother, Chang-shih, supported and comforted the orphan A Shih-ch'ang, and assisted in managing the affairs of their district. In the 15th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1750)[22] he had reached majority and applied for permission to succeed to his father's position.

A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌: Second son of A Yu-wei, succeeded his brother in the 36th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1771).

A Liang-fu 阿良輔: Elder son of A Ch'i-ch'ang, succeeded him in the 3rd year of the period Chia-ch'ing (1708). In the first year of the same period (1796), before he succeeded to his father's position, certain tribal brigands created trouble at the city of Wei-yüan 威遠,[23] whereupon he was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating the brigands. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service. Again, in the 2nd year of the same reign (1797), some Chung-miao (tribespeople), of the city of Nan-lung 南籠[24] of the province of Kuei-chou, rebelled against the government; he was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating the rebels. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service.

A Hui-yüan 阿會元: Son of A Liang-fu, succeeded him in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817). In the first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1821) some tribal brigands created trouble. He was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in guarding them. In the 25th year of the same reign (1845) certain Mohammedan brigands of Mi-tu 彌渡 and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble. He was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating them. In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853) highway robbers made Yao Shan 藥山, a mountain range under the jurisdiction of the T'u-ssu of Lang-ch'ü, unsafe. He was instructed to send his militiamen to guard against them. He was also ordered to secure chair-coolies and horses and to supply military provisions. Meanwhile, during the rebellion of the brigand Tu 杜,[25] he was repeatedly instructed to send his militiamen to render help in exterminating the rebels, and to supply military rice and other provisions in order to assist in carrying on this campaign.

---

[22] The private records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747).

[23] Wei-yüan is in Yün-nan and 340 li north-west of P'u-erh 普洱, latitude 23° 29', longitude 100° 55'. It came under P'u-erh fu in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

[24] Nan-lung is the ancient name of the present An-lung 安籠 formerly also called Hsing-i fu 興義府. It received the latter name in the second year of Chia-ch'ing (1797). Latitude 25° 15', longitude 106°.

A Yü-hsing 阿毓興: Elder son of A Hui-yüan. During his tenure of office his district was much disturbed, and therefore he found no opportunity to apply for the right of inheritance. He was given only an ordinary certificate of appointment to office which authorized him to command his militiamen and to assist in exterminating brigands. Meanwhile, he suffered from gout, and thereupon applied for retirement.

A Heng-fang 阿恆芳: Elder son of A Yühsing. Owing to his father's old age, illness, and his having resigned from office he applied for the right to succeed him. In the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (1879) an official diploma was delivered to him, and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. In the 19th year of the same reign (1893) he retired from office.

A Ying-jui 阿應瑞: Elder son of A Heng-fang (PLATE 214). Owing to his father's resignation, he applied for the right of inheritance. In the 22nd year of the same reign (1896) his request was duly approved by the Emperor, who then issued him an official diploma and authorized him to assume his official duties. [He died in 1938 and his grandson, A Min-han 阿民漢, has succeeded him as native prefect of Yung-ning.]

---

[25] His name was Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. He was a Mohammedan headman (shou 首). Later he called himself Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. He was a leader of the Mohammedan rebellion.

S ST 346 776

represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

ST 601

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

ST 591

ST [164]

ST [762]

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

S 487* 173

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

---

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

*487
●173
Hli-dü language the place is known as La-pa-ddü (pronounced La-pa-tri) and consists of a meadow traversed by the Hli gyi. Here on the banks of this stream, Kublai Khan camped; his army camped on the broad flat plateau above the stream to the east. He sojourned here ere he pushed on south, crossing the Yangtze near Feng-k'o, and storming the first Na-khi settlement at La-pao. At the present T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 or Hsüeh-shan shih-men Kuan 雪山石門關 (Snow mountain gate Pass) he fought his first battle with the Mo-so. (PLATE 103).

The historic Mongol camp was not far from the wooden bridge which spans the Hli gyi at the village of Ba-chü. One crosses it on the way to the summit of Mt. Yo-wa-bu and to Feng-k'o on the Yangtze. The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 30b, state:

173
"After the Sung and at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, in the 2nd year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1252) the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Royal brother) Hu-pi-lieh received orders to attack Nan-chao. He sojourned [camped] at Jih-yüeh-ho."

The Tuan 段氏 family sent Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥[5] to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. The Mongol generals Wan-yen 完顏 (elsewhere called Po 伯 yen),[6] Pu-hua hu-erh 不花虎兒 and others watched (the two river banks).

Hu-pi-lieh supplied them with skin bags on which they crossed the river. The soldiers of Kao T'ai-hsiang fled and he was captured. He refused to be humiliated and was therefore executed. He was decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓 [South gate tower] of Ta-li fu. About the crossing of the Yangtze by Hu-pi-lieh and his army, the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, 上 ch. 4, fol. 35, has the following to say under the heading *Chiu yen-tang Lu* 舊鹽塘路 (Circuit of the ancient Yen-tang): "It was situated west of Li-chiang outside the frontier. In the beginning of Pao-yu 寶祐 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1252) the Mongols came to attack Ta-li. T'e-lieh 忒剌[7] was in the T'u-fan country and there the army divided. One went by the west road which was the Yen-tang road, one went by the east road into the Pai-man country (land of the white barbarians), which is the present Yao-an hsien 姚安縣. General Hu-pi-lieh led the cavalry by the middle

---

[5] Kao T'ai-hsiang was appointed prime minister of the Ho-li Kuo 後理國 dynasty by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsiang 段智祥 in 1237.

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Kao T'ai-hsiang was sent to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. Opposite them the Mongol generals Po-yen 伯顏, Pu-hua-hu-erh-tun 不花虎兒敦 and others, fearlessly observed the two sides of the river. Hu-pi-lieh ordered them to cross the river and to attack the T'u-fan and advanced on the Mo-ti 摩荻 (Mo-so).

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 109, translates this passage wrongly thus: "Battant les T'ou-fan a Tche-ma-ti, il déboucha à Che-men et passa" (to attack the T'u-fan at Tse-ma-ti, etc.); the Chinese text reads: 蹠吐蕃降摩荻出石門. The word *chih* 蹠 means to advance, to go forward, and Mo-ti is a name given the Na-khi or Mo-so. The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 32, fol. 28, states that the Mongols (under) Hu-pi-lieh brought to submission the Mo-ti (Mo-so), emerged from the Shih-men 石門 (Rock gate) (PLATE 103) and passed on.

[6] He is the Bayan of Marco Polo and was Kublai Khan's most famous lieutenant. *See* GILES *Biographical Dictionary* 1663.

[7] The Mongol History writes T'a-la 塔拉 and T'e-la 忒剌.

road from Yüeh-sui 越嶲 to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng 173 ●
chou.[8] The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 兀良合帶 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man.[9] Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day *i-ssu* 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as "Les uns et les autres" and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭砦 (*see* Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang 阿琮阿良).

Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hli gyi or 487*
K'ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine- 137*
covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. 133*
Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (PLATE 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (PLATE 231). [411]
They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggŏ-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggŏ-wùa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwŏ-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

---

[8] Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

[9] This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).

ST 295 ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-chü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S *487 *133 *137 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji[3] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzěr) stand at the entrance which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. S ● 173 The present T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民漢 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

*S *487 *133 *137 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

---

[3] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

823 with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yak, tugging a rope tied to the fish's tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herders found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yak, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

173 *Yung-pei t'ing Records.* — The Yung-pei t'ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien 瀘沽縣. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: "The *Yüan-shih ti-li chih* 元史地理志 (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou 禮州 of Chien-ch'ang Lu 建昌路 (Circuit of Chien-ch'ang, [the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 or Ning-yüan fu 寧遠府 in Ssu-ch'uan]). The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch'eng 北城[3] [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

"P'u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai 建蒂 to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: 'I am a great chief,' and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

"A Ch'ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu 萬戶 [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chün 郡 (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land."[4]

---

[3] The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz'u-ch'eng 此城 instead of Pei-ch'eng. By the former the town or *ch'eng* of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves Lo-lan pu.

[4] It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui 瀘沽水 in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui 瀘水. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch'ang hsien) district in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch'uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the

The Yung-pei Records further state in ch. 1, fol. 30b, that the lake is also 173● called Lu-k'u Hai 瀘窟海 [the word *k'u* means a cave or a hole in the ground]; and that it possesses three islands. [In reality it has five, three in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan.]

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 7, fol. 5a, says that the western part of the lake, ruled by Yung-ning, is called Lu-k'u Hai, in the center is a small mountain called Shui-chai 水寨, on this island the T'u-ssu built a stronghold. Its outlet is at Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 (Lake gate bridge), the water flowing into the Ta-ch'ung Ho in Ssu-ch'uan, [that is in the Tso-so country]. The circumference of the lake is 100 li [not following the shores of the long peninsula called T'u-bbu].

Description of the lake. — The Yung-ning Lake is without exception the 133* finest sheet of water in the whole of Yün-nan; a more beautiful setting it is difficult to imagine. Its water is as clear as crystal, of a deep blue, which shades into purple at the foot of the wooded hills. It is surrounded by forested mountains whose sides are furrowed by deep ravines and whose little streams find their way into the lake. The quiet and peace which reigns here is indeed wonderful; the islets float like ships on a placid sea; all is serene, indeed a fitting place for gods to dwell (PLATE 243). It was my good fortune to visit this lake at many different times from 1924 to 1942 and to spend happy weeks on the lovely island of Nyo-ra-p'u, the only one of the islands belonging to Yün-nan which is inhabited. The lake is uniformly deep and flat-bottomed, the average depth being 220 English feet. Its elevation is 9,600 feet above sea level and 100 feet higher than the Yung-ning plain.

Hospitality of Yung-ning chiefs. — The hospitality of the Yung-ning chiefs, especially of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain) was unsurpassed. Friendliness personified, A Yün-shan made one really feel welcome. Yet peaceful as the lake and the surrounding country appear, its inhabitants have experienced bitter and stormy days and undoubtedly will continue to experience them.[5]

Ta-ch'ung Ho to where it debouches into the Yangtze. The Ta-ch'ung Ho, as explained by me elsewhere, is an affluent of the Li-t'ang River, and the latter a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang 雅礱江. On another map the upper part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho is called the Ya-lung Chiang. The real Ta-ch'ung Ho (called Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country) is thus marked on the map mentioned as Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河.

In the text, ch. 15, fol. 29a, of the same work, it states that the Jo Shui 若水 is identical with the Lu Shui and that another name for both is Ta-ch'ung Ho; from this it can be seen that the Ya-lung is also called Lu Shui.

On page 34b, the Yangtze is, however, also called the Jo Shui, and is made to flow into the Lu Shui or Ya-lung, which is also given as Jo Shui.

Thus it is impossible to take any given location of a place seriously, especially when stated east or west of such and such a river, for it is next to impossible to decide which river is meant.

We find mention made of a Lu-ku Ho which is probably identical with the Lu-ku Shui; this Lu-ku Ho is made to flow into the Yangtze. It does, however, state that the Lu-ku Ho flows south-east of Mien-ning 冕寧 into the territory of Hui-li 會理. and this makes it the An-ning Ho 安寧河 which flows, however, into the Ya-lung (Chin Chiang 金江) and not into the Yangtze.

[5] Since this was written the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) Tibetan outlaws have again

ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hle- 133*
wu-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (PLATE 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore.

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (PLATES 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people 133*
call Khyo-ō-on and the Na-khi Ḳhü-wua-gku, is the most important strate- 712
gically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (PLATE 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope, and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after levelling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure.

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last 173
marriage (PLATES 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated

173 some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug[9] (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

433 On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

172 The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

342 On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

173 Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

---

[9] མཁན་སྤྲུལ་བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་ཕྱུག

173 chose to spend the last years of his life. After the Japanese had taken T'eng-ch'ung in south-west Yün-nan it was rumoured in the summer of 1942, that they were on their way to Ta-li. In order to avoid falling into their hands I left Li-chiang intending to make my way north through Mu-li to K'ang-ting. I stopped *en route* at Yung-ning but owing to a severe illness was prevented from carrying out my plan. I visited the island of Nyo-ro-p'u and stayed there about ten days. I enquired of the two last born sons of the late Tsung-kuan, who were living on the island with their mother, where their father's grave was. To my greatest astonishment they replied that they did not know. I then asked a lama who said his ashes are buried on the island of Hle-wu-be. I then requested the two sons to accompany me to the island to visit their father's grave; to this they consented. We rowed over with a lama who took us up to the broad part of the spur, back of the ancient tower-ruin of the days of Mu Sheng-pai, and there found two graves, one that of a lama (on the south edge of the spur) and the other north of it that of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan. Not even a stone marked the spot, only a few rocks and thorny branches covered a small circular depression, yet his remains had been buried there since 1933. The two sons who had never visited the grave amused themselves elsewhere while I meditated at the resting place of my old friend. The boys had rowed by there nearly every day with their Lo-lo dogs when on their way hunting in the forests around the lake, but did not even enquire where their father was buried.

The present Yung-ning Tsung-kuan is the second son of the late A Yün-shan; he was selected by his father and previously acted for him on various occasions. His name is A-pi 阿琛 in Chinese, and A-p'a-du-dji in the Mo-so Hli-khin language.

*133 *137 *Hle-wu-be.* — The island of Hle-wu-be is situated off the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula and is the oldest inhabited island in the lake. It is in line with, and south three li of the island of Nyo-ro-p'u, and separated from T'u-bbu by a narrow channel about four feet deep. It is densely wooded with pines and other trees, and covered with vines such as climbing Lonicera, etc. Near the center of the island is an ancient lama temple with a low hut for a priest or hermit, hidden in trees and shrubbery. In the sixth moon the peasants of Hli-khin land (Yung-ning) come to this islet to pray in the temple.

Many birds have made their home on this peaceful spot, as it is now uninhabited. On its very top is the ruin of an old watch-tower built by the Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pai, (1587–1646). Little remains but about 15 feet of the tower in which a tree had taken root, grown to large size but has now died and crumbled. This island is better wooded than the rest as it has remained uninhabited for a century or more. The trees extend to the water's edge, forming a jungle; two trails lead to the top, one from the northern slope and one from the eastern, on both sides being a landing-place for canoes.

Ny-se and A-na-wa. — The island of Nyi-se is a low oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and, like Hle-wu-be, close to the mainland. This holds also good for the islands of A-na-wa and Bu-wua, the latter being still closer

#133 to the shore than the former. A-na-wa is the smaller of the two Ssu-ch'uan #137 islands; the top is rocky and bare, only the eastern and northern shores are wooded with willows. (PLATE 255)

Bu-wua. — Bu-wua, which belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu, has a residence and Bön lama Temple on its summit. It forms a broad triangle and its slopes are wooded. It is not used as a residence like Nyo-ro-p'u but merely as a place of refuge for the Tso-so chief and his family at the approach of either Tibetan or Lo-lo bandits.

T'u-bbu peninsula. — There remains now the long T'u-bbu peninsula. This latter discharges a stream from its central portion eastwards, which flows past the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung) and, united with the Hai-men-ch'iao, flows into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. The peninsula, which is about ten li in length, is densely wooded with pines and oaks. The last third or south-western end of this land tongue is in Yün-nan, the remainder in Ssu-ch'uan. A small ravine on its north-western slope, with a hut where a Chinese family has settled, is the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan. The slopes are very steep and rocky and covered with scrub oaks and pines. Its highest ● 173 point is in Yün-nan. Near the end of the peninsula the top is more or less broad and there can still be seen the remains of a house once inhabited by the proud Na-khi war-lord, MuT'ien-wang 木天王, the "Celestial King Mu," as Mu Tseng used to be styled 300 years ago. Now the remnants of the walls are moss covered and damp, buried in forest of oak and pine. All the glory of the past has vanished. To-day not a vestige remains of the power once held by the Na-khi chiefs in the days of the Ming, when they reached their height in Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Tseng); their descendants a counterpart of the ruins on this peninsula, live in poverty in the Li-chiang district, without a trace of the martial spirit which characterized their noble ancestors.

101 with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) the chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

●173 The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿各, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿珀, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿洪, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鸞, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿岐鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿逵, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尚義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the district. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

---

[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

Then came A Ssu-tsu 阿嗣祖, son of the former. In the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (1692) he gratefully received from the provincial ruler Ma 馬, the official title of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). He also appointed him to rule over the Fan and I 番夷 barbarians and savages [Tibetans and Lo-lo are meant], and allowed him to collect taxes.

He died without sons and his younger brother, A Ssu-hsien 阿嗣賢, followed him, having received from fu-magistrate Li 李 permission to assume the position. In the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (1705) he received from the Board of Frontiers a commission to be the native chief and to rule his district.

Then followed A T'eng-lung 阿滕龍, who was the former's first-born. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) his father died, and in the 60th year (1721) he assumed his father's position. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) he received orders from General Liu 柳 to come to La-ju-wo 腊肉窩 to join the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan military officials, to capture the bandit chief Liao-ma-ch'e 了媽車. He endured many hardships, became ill and died.

Afterwards followed A Feng-t'ai 阿逢泰, son of T'eng-lung. At his father's death he was still a minor. The magistrate of Yung-pei, Shih Hsiang 石祥 by name, arranged to have his paternal grandmother [of the La family], look after the affairs of office and also after the orphan grandchild. In the 13th year of Ch'ien-lung (1748) he reached his majority and was then asked to assume his father's position.

After him came A Ch'i-chi 阿其吉, his son. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy Te 德 ordered him to assume his father's position. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) he was ordered to assemble his native troops and his headmen and to lead them to Wei-yüan,[2] where there was trouble. Later he led his troops to Nan-lung[3] to attack the Chung and Miao tribes. Afterwards they were again sent to Wei-hsi.[4] He acquired merit on these expeditions, and was given a silver medal, cattle and wine.

Then followed A Erh-fu 阿爾福, the son of A Ch'i-chi. In the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809) Viceroy Chang 章 ordered him to assume his father's position.

Then followed A Wei-chu 阿為柱, the former's first-born. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) Viceroy Po 伯 sent him letters patent. In the 10th year of Tao-kuang (1830) he asked for permission to assume his hereditary position. In the 22nd year (1842) he received from the Executive Office an official commission and a copper seal, and thereupon assumed his official position. In the 27th year (1847) he led the native troops to Yen-yüan hsien in Ssu-ch'uan where he captured the Moslem rebel Hai-pa-wang 海壩王. His military exploits were recorded. In the 29th year (1849) he repaired the wall of his city (Lang-ch'ü chou). He received from his su-

---

[2] Wei-yüan was in the district of P'u-erh, north-west of that city in the south of Yün-nan. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Yin-sheng fu 銀生府; in the Yüan it was known as Wei-yüan. It is the present Ching-ku 景谷 on the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河 which flows into the Mekong.

[3] Nan-lung is in the province of Kuei-chou.

[4] Wei-hsi is in the north-west of Yün-nan.

173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尚文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsü 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲雁) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position."[5]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567
661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yünnan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

---

[5] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the T'u-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in south-western Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康. 101

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area still ruled by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly Mo-so; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascendancy. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志). 173 ●

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

---

[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典楚品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

[p. 435]

173 work is not in manuscript, but is a block-print consisting of six *pen* 本. It is not divided throughout into numbered chapters, and its pages are numbered in part; an index (*mu-lu* 目錄) is also lacking. Furthermore, pages are missing here and there throughout the six volumes. There are no maps.

I have lately come into the possession of a copy of the Yen-yüan Records through the kindness of the Mu-li ruler. The same pages are missing as in the Peiping copy, which would indicate that the printing blocks representing these pages have been lost and not the pages themselves.

The first preface is dated the 17th year of Kuang-hsü (1891) while the second preface is dated the 19th year of Kuang-hsü (1893). The Record was compiled by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu Chün-yün 吳郡雲 and Ku P'ei-yüan 辜培源, who was a Chien-sheng 監生 (Collegian of the Imperial Academy).

This work has enabled me to give here a detailed account of the genealogical history of the native Mo-so chiefs and the history of the territory they rule; a general account of the history and topography of the entire region under the jurisdiction of Yen-yüan is also added. I have only been able to make extensive visits to the territory of three, namely Mu-li, Tso-so and Ch'ien-so.

An account of the Mu-li lama King or Pacification Commissioner, his genealogical records and the history and geographical account of his kingdom, is reserved for a separate work which will include also Hsi-k'ang or the Tibetan Marches.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Past and present designations. — The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 1, states that: "The land of Yen-yüan is in the extreme south-west of China. At one of its frontiers there is a salt lake. This land is also called Tso 笮 and possesses a clear [salt] spring which is indeed a treasure. In the Yüan dynasty this land was called *Jun* 閏 (Extra) as if it were a small piece of land added to the empire. In the Ming dynasty it was called a *Ching* 井 (Well) as if it had been an insignificant territory.

"Since the time of the Han dynasty this territory had been captured several times but could not be retained as part of the Chinese empire. At times it was rejected by the Imperial Court and later could not again be recovered, not even by force. Yet for several thousand years it has retained its beauty and mysteries. The emperor tried to acquaint the tribes peoples with Confucianism and graced them with virtues. They looked upon this as a constellation which supplied them with food.

"Therefore the first name given to this land was Yüan 源 (Source of a spring). The intention was that the people should keep firmly impressed in their mind the stream of the Imperial grace and not sever their connection with it.

Establishment between Hsia and Han dynasties. — "According to the Yü-kung 禹貢 (Tribute of Yü) of the Hsia dynasty 夏 (2205–2197 B.C.) which governed the province of Liang chou, the land of Yen-yüan hsien was situated outside its south-west frontier. In the 30th year of Nan Wang 赧王

of the Chou dynasty 周 (285 B.C.) the State of Ch'in 秦 appointed a prefect 173 to govern the land of Shu [Ssu-ch'uan] and called it Tso 莋, which is the first appearance of the name in the History of China. At the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) there was established Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣 (district of Ting-tso) in the same territory, subordinate to the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越嶲郡 and ruled by an official bearing the title of Tu-yü 都尉.[3]

Under Shu Han, Chin, Sung, and Northern Chou. — "Under the various dynasties which followed, as the Shu Han, Chin and Sung, the name as well as the policy towards it remained unchanged. In the Ch'i 齊 dynasty (479–501) the land was lost to the Liao 獠 tribes.[4] In the second year of T'ien-ho 天和 of the Northern Chou dynasty 北周 (567) the Principality of Ting-tso 定莋鎮 was established there.

Under T'ang and Sung. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the hsien of K'un-ming 昆明縣 was established subject to the department of Sui 嶲州. Afterwards the Meng family 蒙氏 of the Nan-chao Kingdom made it to Chün 郡 of Hsiang-ch'eng 香城. In the Sung dynasty (960–1126) it was nominally kept in restraint (by the emperor) but was really controlled by the Ta-li Kingdom which called it the Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸.

Under Yüan. — "In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it became the land of the Lo-lan tribe [Lo-lan pu; the Lo-lan tribe and Lo-lo are identical. *see* p. 416]. In the 10th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) it acknowledged allegiance to the empire. In the 14th year (1277) the Yen-ching Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch of Yen-ching) was established. In the 15th year (1278) there was created the department of Chin 金州 (Chin chou), later demoted to the district of Chin 金縣 or Chin hsien.

"In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Jun-yen chou 閏鹽州 and made subordinate to Te-p'ing Lu 德平路 (Circuit of Te-p'ing). In the 27th year (1290) the chou was made into a hsien and the prefecture of Po-hsing 柏興府 was established.[5]

---

[3] In the National Library of Peiping (now temporarily in the safe-keeping of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.) there is extant the 3d. volume of a rare work entitled: *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* 四川土夷考 published in the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, the other volumes have unfortunately been lost. This work (the 3d. chapter) deals in part with Yen-yüan and the Wu-so 五所, and I give here translations as far as they concern us here. As regards Yen-yüan it states under the heading Yen-ching wei t'u shou 鹽井衛圖說 on p. 36b, "According (to records) Yen-ching wei under the Han dynasty was the land of Ting-tso hsien of the Chün of Yüeh-sui. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty it was called Po-hsing fu 柏興府. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so 柏興千戶所 and afterwards was again changed to Yen-ching wei, or the military garrison of Yen-ching."

According to Ma Tuan-lin the Liao are a tribe of barbarians or (Man) mentioned in antiquity. Their original home was in the region situated between Liang chou and I chou. From Han-chung 漢中 [parts of Shensi and Ssu-ch'uan] they penetrated to Chiung 邛 and Tso (Ssu-ch'uan and the region of Yen-yüan).

[5] The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 15, fol. 30a, states the name Po-hsing was applied to it because of the dense forest of Sung Po 松柏 pines and cypresses [junipers or *Thuja orientalis* could also be meant] which existed there on a mountain called Po-lin Shan 柏林山

173 "This town was made subordinate to a Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) belonging to the Lo-lo tribe.

Under Ming. — "In the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) the same name was retained as well as the policy towards it, but it was later changed to Po-hsing chou. In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so 柏興千戶所 (Petty military station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subordinate to the Wei of Chien-ch'ang 建昌衛. In the 27th year (1394) the Wei of Yen-ching was established and its ruler was given the title of Chün min chih-hui shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and civil leader of the native tribes).

Under Ch'ing. — "At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) it was still called Yen-ching wei. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) the office of the Military Station was abolished and the hsien of Yen-yüan was established in its stead, subordinate to the fu-city of Ning-yüan 寧遠府.

2. SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Under Han. — "In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) there was established the hsien of Ting-tso. In the sixth year of Yüan-feng 元封 (105 B.C.) the land of Chiung and Tso was changed into the Chün of Ch'en-li 沈黎郡.[6] In the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.) Ch'en-li was abolished and two Tu-yü 都尉 (Captains) were appointed, one to govern Mao-niu 牛旄 and to control the foreign Ch'iang 羌 tribes, and the other to govern Ch'ing-i 青衣 and to control the people of Han (Chinese), at that time Ting-tso was subject to the Tu-yü of Mao-niu.[7]

(Cypress forest Mountain) 10 li south of the city of Yen-yüan. The color of the forest was beautiful and the trees tall, touching heaven. It was surrounded by the Lung Shui (Dragon River) and was the border of Tien (Yün-nan) and Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and the land where the Chinese and barbarians met.

The old *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (of 1733), ch. 27, fols. 13b–14a, states that in ancient times the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 (Mo-so) dwelled where Po-hsing was. At the end of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶, about A.D. 755, it was captured by the T'u-fan. In 1273 the chief of the Mo-sha tribe of Yen-ching submitted to the empire.

In 1280 there were established P'u-lo chou 普樂州 and Jun-yen chou 潤鹽州 and in 1290 the two were united and made the Jun-yen hsien or Jun-yen district, of which the prefectural city was Po-hsing (fu).

[6] E. CHAVANNES in Vol. 1, Introduction to *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, p. LXXXVIII, states that Ch'en-li (Tchen-li) was the ancient territory of the principate of Tso, and is the present prefecture of Li-chiang.

The *Chia-ch'ing I t'ung-chi*, ch. 403, fol. 1b, states that Ch'en-li was south-east of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 and was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷筰都國 (Kingdom of Tso-tu of the Western Barbarians). According to the *Shih Chi* 史記 (Historical Records), Hsi-Tso-tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal chieftain territories situated to the north-east of Sui 嶲.

In the Han dynasty the Marquis of Tso 筰侯 was murdered and Tso-tu was changed to Ch'en-li Chün. The latter was, however, abolished in the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.). During the Chin dynasty it was again established by dividing Han-chia 漢嘉 (the present Ming-shan hsien 名山縣 under Ya-chou fu 雅州府). The name of Ch'en-li does not appear in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*.

[7] Mao-niu hsien is the territory south of the present Ch'ing-ch'i hsien under Ya-chou fu.

173

"Then there was established the hsien or district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣.[8] The name Sui-chiu was derived from the name of a mountain. According to the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, the Sheng Shui 繩水 has its source in the Pa-sui Mountain 巴遂山. According to the *Hua-yang chih* 華陽志, in Sui-chiu there is a hsien and a river called Sheng Shui.

Under the Three Kingdoms and Shu Han period. — "During the period of the Shu Han dynasty of the Three Kingdoms (221–265) it was called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien. In the (two) Chin dynasties (265–419) it was also called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien but was changed and made subject to Yün-nan Chün,[9] which was later again abolished. In the Sung dynasty of the house of Liu 宋劉 (420–478) it was again called Ting-tso hsien. In the Ch'i, Liang and Pei Chou 齊梁北周 dynasties (479–580) it had the following designations:

"In the Ch'i dynasty it was the Liao Chün 獠郡 of Yüeh-sui, and the hsien of Ting-tso was subject to the latter.[10]

"In the Liang dynasty, Ting-tso hsien was again established, subordinate to Sui chou. Later it fell into the hands of its aggressors. In the Later [northern] Chou the Principality of Ting-tso was established.

Under T'ang. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the district of K'un-ming was created, subject to Sui-chou. Afterwards it ceased to exist as the Nan-chao Kingdom captured it. The latter established in its stead the Chün of Hsiang-ch'eng.

"In the seventh year (624) there was established the chou of Hsi-yü 西濮. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) its name was changed to

---

In the *Han Shu* it relates that the descendants of the Ch'iang chief Wu-i 羌無弋 established separate tribes of which one was the Mao-niu tribe [or Yak tribe who apparently were nomads herding yak (Mao-niu)]. They were the Yüeh-sui Ch'iang. This Tu-yü resided in Mao-niu and was the ruler of the barbarians who lived outside the border. In the second year of Yen-kuang 延光 (A.D. 123) of the Eastern Han, the tribes of Mao-niu rebelled and attacked Ling Kuan 靈關. [This pass is 60 li north-west of Lu-shan hsien 盧山縣 and adjoins the border of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州. It led over the Ling Shan and was considered of great strategic importance as one guard is said to be able to hold up 100 attackers. It adjoined the border of the Pai-lang 白狼 barbarians; it was like the belt of the Fan and Man tribes.] They were then attacked by Chang Ch'iao 張喬 who defeated them. [He was a native of Nan-yang 南陽 in Ho-nan and was a hereditary official appointed during An Ti 安帝 (107–125).]

The ch'ing-i hsien (district of Ch'ing-i) is the land to the north of the present-day Ya-an hsien 雅安縣.

According to the *Ya-chou fu chih*, ch. 3, fol. 34b, Ch'ing-i hsien was originally the kingdom of the Ch'ing-i Ch'iang 青衣羌. In 201 B.C., that is the sixth year of Kao Tsu of the Han dynasty, it was first opened and the district of Ch'ing-i established. It then belonged to the Chün of Shu 蜀郡.

[8] In the Western Han dynasty it was a district in the Chün of Yüeh-sui. In the Chin 晉 dynasty it was a hsien in Ning chou 寧州 in the Chün of Yün-nan 雲南郡. It is the land to the west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien of Ssu-ch'uan.

[9] Yün-nan Chün was 80 li south of Yün-nan hsien, subject to Ta-li fu, Yün-nan province. It is the present day Hsiang-yün 祥雲 (pronounced Ch'iang-yün in Yün-nan), two and a half stages east of Ta-li.

[10] The hsien was abolished as the Liao tribes captured it.

173 Chi-mi Mi chou 羈縻靡州 (Chi-mi[11] of Mi chou); [it was north-west of Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 in Yün-nan] it controlled two districts, Mo-yü 磨豫[12] and Ch'i-pu 七部.

"Afterwards they were abolished.

"Then there was established the hsien of Ch'ang-ming 昌明縣[13] subject to Sui chou.

"At the end of the reign of Cheng-kuan (649) there were established one chou, namely Lao chou 牢州 and three hsien, Sung-wai 松外, Hsün-sheng 尋聲, and Lin-k'ai 林開.

"At the beginning of the reign of Yung-hui 永徽 (650), the chou was abolished and the (three) hsien demoted and included in Ch'ang-ming hsien. Afterwards it was again abolished.

Under Sung and Yüan. — "At the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960) the territory was subject to a Chi-mi, but afterwards the Ta-li Tuan Shih 大理段氏 [ruling house of Tuan of Ta-li (Yün-nan)] conquered it by force, and changed its name to Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the Yüan dynasty the fu-city of Po-hsing was established. In the 17th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1280) the chou of Jun-yen 閏鹽州 was founded and in the 27th year (1290) it was demoted to a hsien, and then in the hsien was established a fu-city 府 subject to the Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing Hsüan-wei-ssu 羅羅蒙慶宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing).

"In the 15th year of Chih-yüan (127[illegible]) there was established the chou-city of Chin 金州. Afterwards it was demoted and made a hsien, namely Chin hsien, subject to the fu-city of Po-hsing.

Under Ming. — "In the Ming dynasty there was established the Yen-ching wei (Salt-well military station). In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed and made the Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so (Military sub-station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subject to the Chien-ch'ang military station. In the 27th year it was changed and the Yen-ching Wei Chün-min Chih-hui-shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and Civil Leader of the native tribes of the military Station of Yen-ching) was established, subject to the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司 (mobile captain); thereafter Chin hsien was abolished.

"Yen-yüan was called Ting-tso and in ancient days belonged to Sui chou. Yet Tso itself is not Yen-yüan, for Sung, Mou, Ch'en-li Chin-ch'uan, and Wei-tsang 松, 茂, 沈黎, 金川, 衞藏, all these were called Tso. But strange to say our district [Yen-yüan] is generally believed to, have been the territory of Tso. [Li-chiang also belonged to Ting-tso in the Han dynasty]. Yen-yüan, did not represent the whole of Sui 巂, for the territory of Sui also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 173 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui.

---

[11] During the T'ang dynasty dependencies of the empire were ruled by indigenous chiefs and this type of local government. of which there were ninety-two, was called Chi-mi tu-tu fu 羈縻都督府. Chi-mi-chou 羈縻州 was the designation of a prefecture of a tributary state ruled by a native prince. *See* R. DES ROTOURS, Les grand fonctionnaires de provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 25, 1928, p. 243.

[12] Mo-yü was a district also called Chi-mi as was Mi chou. It is the land of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

[13] This hsien belonged to Chien-nan Tao 劍南道 (Circuit of Chien-nan) and was subject to Sui chou. It was south-west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯. 173

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the 131 south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 牟尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan.

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border[15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 棚土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海[16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司[17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

---

[14] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[15] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[16] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[17] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ལྕགས་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

173
131
North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作 [18] was situated between T'ai-teng 臺登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 鴉礱江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣 [20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 猓果 and No-lung 糯弄.[21]

---

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 巂). According to the ***Mien-ning hsien chih*** 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 2a, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 岔河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 173 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 縻州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 牢州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利竇,[22] the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀘 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

---

proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

[22] Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利竇揭勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 斛婆和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 茹庫 barbarians dwelled there.

173 131 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 137 133 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land. This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卭 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 101 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

---

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卭都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋皐 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獹獹 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

---

[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans).

All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

●173 101 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑[27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武侯 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-ming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 筰 is equivalent to the character

---

[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國. which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

173

101

chiao 筊 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28]

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao*.]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

173 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30]
101 It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 巂 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽中, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so, Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (*or chou*). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 堡寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 遏戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

---

[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (*or Lo-lan pu* 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬剌長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 玕甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打沖河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 剌, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch A 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74. fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon). Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

● 173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho[35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 嶲, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 嶲 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

---

of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong རྒྱལ་རོང).

Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. 173 This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the 101 cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

---

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 筰縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 猫羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

● 173 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan 101 were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 濉江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon he received an official seal and Imperial letters patent appointing him as the ruler of Kua-pieh.

---

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

"Chi Chio-pu 己角補 was the eldest son of P'o 迫 by his first wife. In the 55th year of K'ang-hsi (1716) he succeeded his father as T'u-ssu. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the Fan [Hsi-fan] brigands of Yü-o 魚窩 he acquired merit, and was rewarded with 300 taels of silver. In the 11th year (1733) he again joined the Imperial army, attacking the Fan bandits of Erh-ssu 兒斯. He captured the rebel Wu-sha-chia 烏沙甲 and more than 10 bandits. He was granted more than 600 taels of silver and promoted to a higher official rank.

"Chi Lien-kuei 己聯貴, the eldest son of Pu 補 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 25th year of Ch'ien-lung (1760).

"Chi Shao-hsien 己紹先, the eldest son of Kuei 貴 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

"Chi Kuang-tsung 己光宗, the eldest son of Hsien 先 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).[3]

"Chi Kuo-fu 己國富, eldest son of Tsung 宗 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (1815). In the 23rd year of Tao-kuang (1843) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the brigand chief Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒 he acquired merit, and received the *Lan-ling* 藍翎 [Blue plume, a raven's feather conferred as a reward for services upon officials below the sixth grade. GILES, No. 6732].

"In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan 張大脚板 (Chang with the big feet) of Yün-nan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he was ordered by the government to lead his troops to exterminate them. He then received the peacock's feather instead of the former Blue Plume. In the 11th year (1861) the brigand leader Ma Jung-hsien 馬榮先 and his followers burned and looted Mien-hua-ti 棉花地 in the district of Yen-yüan. Fu joined the Imperial army and by subjugating the brigands he acquired merit and was promoted to the second official rank. In the third year of T'ung-chih (1864) he retired from his official post.

"Chi T'ien-hsi 己天錫 was the eldest son of Fu 富 by his first wife. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he succeeded to his father's position. In the sixth year (1867) he led his own troops to build defense works and to exterminate the Yün-nan bandits. On this account the Emperor conferred on him the honorific title of Pa-t'u-lu 巴圖魯 (Strong and brave; [*Baturu* is a decoration rewarded for military prowess and bestowed only on such as already have the peacock's feather]).

"Chi T'ing-liang 己廷樑, son of the brother of Hsi 錫, succeeded to his uncle's position in the 15th year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 (1889).[4]

---

[3] He is the An-fu-ssu (Pacification Commissioner) mentioned in the second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816).

[4] It was this T'u-ssu who was murdered with his entire family, excepting his eldest son, by the Lo-lo of Kua-pieh in January, 1924.

adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7] 131

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official." 651

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馮喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 彌多. 131

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior native deputy official.) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9] 173 ●

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

---

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌堡舖 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

● 173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿檜健, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文翥, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

---

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

65/ hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 祿馬六槽."[13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

●173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.* — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 茯苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅕ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (*Chiliarch*). — "Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

---

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州舖 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

"Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, eldest son of the legal wife of Pao, succeeded to his father's position in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784).

"Lang T'ing-hsi 郎廷璽, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded his father in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling chiliarch of Ku-po-shu].

"Lang T'ing-fang 郎廷芳, son of the brother of Hsi by the legal wife, succeeded to the position in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821).

"Lang Ying-sheng 郎應陞, eldest son of the legal wife of Fang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the 22nd year (1842) on account of his meritorious services rendered in suppressing the brigand Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume. In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the Yün-nan brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he joined the Imperial troops to attack Chang. After the expedition he was rewarded with the peacock's feather. In the 10th year of Hsien-feng (1860) the Yün-nan brigand Ma Jung-hsien and others escaped and disturbed the peace at Mien-hua-ti in the district of Yen-yüan. On account of his meritorious services in that campaign the Emperor promoted him to the third official rank.

"Lang Ch'ao-ting 郎朝鼎, eldest son of the legal wife of Sheng, succeeded to his father's position in the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

"Lang Jui-lin 郎瑞麟, eldest son of the legal wife of Ting." [He was apparently T'u-ssu at the time of the compiling of the Yen-yüan Records; no further notes as to his assumption of office, etc., are given.] The present Ku-po-shu native chiliarch is Lang Chih-pang 郎治邦.

The Ku-po-shu census of 1834 revealed a population of 585 households consisting of 1,461 tribespeople.

4. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE SO KUO

"Of the So Kuo 所國, the first to be established were the Chung and Tso which formed one *So*. Now they are divided into five *So* and are known as the Wu-so, subject to the magistracy of Yen-yüan, formerly called the Yen-ching wei. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 whose old remnants are the present military transport circuit-post of Sha-p'ing 沙平. In the Yüan dynasty it was the territory of Lu chou 瀘州 in the Chien-ch'ang Circuit"[14] (*Yen-yüan hsien chih*).

5. CHUNG-SO 中所

"The seat of the chief of Chung-so[15] is 100 li from the district town of Yen-yüan.

---

[14] The now obsolete Lu chou was 25 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present-day Hsi-ch'ang hsien. The savages who dwelt there called it Sha-ch'eng-chien 沙城檢.

[15] The home of the Chung-so chief is situated on the mountain-side above the village of Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩, a distance of 135 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and about 60 li from Yen-ching. The mountains around there are inhabited by Lo-lo tribespeople who live in rude pine-log huts. The mountains are covered with pine forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron decorum*.

173

"The eastern border of Chung-so extends to the A-kuo Ho 阿果河, a distance of 15 li, adjoining the border of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井; the southern border extends to the village of No-lung 糯弄, adjoining the boundary of the Yün-nan district of Ta-yao, a distance of 400 li; to the west the border extends to the summit of the Ko-na-ssu Mountains 格納思山, a distance of 100 li, adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district. To the north the border extends to the banks of the Ta Ho, 大河 a distance of 60 li, adjoining the territory of the Tso-so native chiliarch. The circumference of the entire Chung-so territory is 575 li.[16] The chief controls 50 villages inhabited by native tribes [I-min 夷民]. [Lo-lo, Mo-so and Hsi-fan are here meant.]

"The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu pays taxes in kind amounting to 19 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat. This is forwarded to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In addition he pays a land improvement tax of 15.66 taels' silver to the magistrate of Yen-yüan."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1733) the borders of Chung-so extend east to A-ko 阿各 (the edition of 1816 states A-ko Ho or A-ko Stream); south to Sa-che 撒者; west to the border of Ku-mu 古木; north to Mi-i 迷易.[17]

"He controls 820 households of tribespeople [the edition of 1816 states, 485 families].

Imperial tribute and rewards. — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the second-class native chiefs of the aborigines were commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Thereupon La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相 went to Peking in person and took with him the following articles of tribute: A brass Buddha sitting on a silver throne and weighing 8.10 taels, five *Ha-ta* 哈達 [the Tibetan Khatag (written Kha-btags)],[18] weighing two catties; five China-roots [*Fu-ling*] weighing 27 catties and 8 taels; five boxes of *Ch'ang-p'u* (*Acorus* roots) weighing five catties; five foxskins weighing 4 catties; five bear galls weighing 7.7 taels, and five pockets of musk weighing 3.15 taels. These articles he presented to the Emperor, who honoured him with the button of the fourth rank. Hereafter when commanded to have audi-

---

[16] *See* note 7 on page 457.

[17] At Mi-i there is a native chiliarch whose family name is An 安. His ancestor was An Wen 安文 who also submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi. This chiliarch resides and rules over a district called Li-ch'i chou 黎溪州 under the prefecture of Hui-li.

The *Ming Shih*, ch. 311, fol. 16a, states that the native official Ch'ien-hu of Mi-i was called Hsien 賢. His first ancestor was a native of Ching-tung 景東, Yün-nan, and belonged to the P'o tribe 僰種. The above is also recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of Ming Wan-li (1573–1620). But it adds that the name of his distant ancestor was A 阿 and that the latter possessed no fields in Ching-tung. He lead his tribesmen and migrated to Mi-i where they possessed themselves of fields and stayed. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) he followed the army, attacked and advanced on Tung-ch'uan and Mang-pu where he killed the robbers. Having thereby acquired merit he then submitted and left for the capital where the Emperor appointed him hereditary assistant chiliarch of Mi-i-so.

[18] Presentation or salutation scarfs made of silk; the longest and best are presented to high officials; they carry respect according to their quality, color and length.

173 ence, he either went himself or sent his representatives and was always rewarded with precious gifts.[19]

Genealogy of the Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La Jui-lin 喇瑞麟 returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent and ordered him to reside in Chung-so and administer its affairs as the native Ch'ien-hu. He belonged to the Mo-so tribe.

"La Chün-jung 喇君榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Lin, succeeded to his father's position in the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1750).

"La Yung-chung 喇用中, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Ch'ien-lung (1755).

"La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"La Ying-han 喇英翰, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsiang, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Chia-ch'ing (1804). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling T'u-ssu of Chung-so.] In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) he was ordered to join the punitive expedition against the Yün-nan wild tribes. He was afterwards rewarded with the fourth class official button.

"La Wen-ch'ing 喇文清, eldest son of the legal wife of Han, succeeded to his father's position in the third year of Tao-kuang (1823). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) the Yün-nan bandit chief Chang Ta-chio-pan and his followers disturbed the peace. He led his own militia, pursued the brigands and helped exterminate them all, whereupon the Emperor rewarded him with the peacock plume.

"La Pang-tso 喇邦佐, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ing, succeeded to his father's position in the first year of T'ung-chih (1862). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) the Yün-nan brigands besieged Yen-yüan, whereupon he led his own soldiers, raised defence works and helped to exterminate the bandits. The Emperor thereupon conferred on him the additional rank of Brigadier-General.

"La Shu-t'ung 喇淑統, nephew of Tso. He was appointed as the rightful heir and succeeded to his uncle's position. [No date is given of his assuming the office of Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so.]

"The present (1940) Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so is La Ch'eng-chieh 喇成傑.

"In the Chung-so territory are two stockaded villages of importance. One is called Shui-tz'u-wa-chai 水次凹寨 and the other Ch'e-ch'iu-chai 扯邱寨. Another village is called La-t'a-chai 喇踏寨.

---

[19] The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* p. 38a states: The Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu's family name is La 剌; his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He submitted to the Imperial rule and extirpating the brigands he acquired merit and received the hereditary rank of Assistant Chiliarch. In previous years he paid tribute in horses and received the Imperial command to remain at his post and lend assistance to the postal courier. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan and was repeatedly raided. The land originally under his jurisdiction was narrow and closely hemmed in. There were barely a hundred tribesmen and their position was isolated and weak, but they defended themselves energetically. The present resident (written in the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty [1573–1620]) La Shu-tsu 剌述祖 continues the clan according to the law of inheritance.

"The census of 1834 held in the Chung-so territory revealed a population of 485 households composed of 1,283 tribespeople."

6. TSO-SO 左所

"The seat of the T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so 左所土千戶 is 240 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is formed by the Mountain Sha-ta-wa-t'a-erh (Shan) 沙打四塔耳山 and adjoins the boundary of the district of Yen-yüan, a distance of 400 li. The southern border is at Pa-ch'iu 巴邱 and adjoins the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district, a distance of 120 li. The western border adjoins the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory distant 30 li. The northern border adjoins the border of the Pacification Commissioner's territory of Kua-pieh 120 li [and also that of Mu-li]. The entire territory has a circumference of 670 li, extending from north to south 240 li and from east to west 430 li.

"He rules over 1,001 families of tribespeople [who are mostly Mo-so, or, to be correct, Hli-khin or Lü-khi, a branch of the Na-khi, also Lo-lo and Hsi-fan].

"The Tso-so chief pays taxes in kind amounting to 70 *tan* of buckwheat. This is delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. He controls also the native chief of Pi-chü-lu. The latter place is also known as Nan-yang-chai 南陽寨."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* pp. 37a–37b relates of the Tso-so territory as follows:

"The family of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch) is La 剌, his distant ancestor La-t'a 剌他 was a native of that place. In the 25th year of the period Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la planned a revolt but were reduced to submission. La-t'a returned allegiance, established a great army at Yen-ching wei and repeatedly attacked the robbers; he acquired merit and pacified the people.

The second generation ancestor La-ma-fei went in audience with the Emperor and paid tribute in horses which he sent to the capital. He was thereupon promoted to hereditary Native Assistant chiliarch of Tso-so of Yen-ching wei.

In the 11th year of the period Yung-lo (1413) he was promoted by Imperial decree hereditary Cheng Ch'ien-hu, his descendants have inherited the title without interruption. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou of Yün-nan. He had a strong force of soldiers and horses. Recently (this was written in the Wan-li period [1573–1620]) his territory was seized by the Li-chiang fu native official Mu Wang 木旺 (*see* Page 122). Yung-ning fu also encroached on its borders and appropriated it and the tribesmen agreed to leave. The present resident (Wan-li period *v.s.*) La-ma-kao 剌馬高 in his youth was an orphan and helpless to cope with the situation, but now that he has reached maturity he is rich, brave and shrewd and protects his inheritance."

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (edition 1733) states that the eastern border is at the mouth of the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 [a branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho], south to the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu of Yün-nan; west to the borders of the territory of Yung-ning, Yün-nan; and north to the border of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. At the time of the publication of this topography (1733) he ruled over 1,201 households. The Topography published in 1816 states that he rules over 525 households.

The ancestor of the Tso-so T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman, by name La-t'a 喇塔 (also written 他). According to the statement of the present Tso-so chief his first ancestor was called La-ma-t'a 喇馬塔. His territory to this day is called La-t'a and the Yung-ning Lake, the eastern half of which is in his domain, is known to the Mo-so as La-t'a Ķhü (La-t'a Lake).

Under the Mongols and Mings.—Little or nothing is know as to the history of this region prior to the Ming dynasty, save that it was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253. He left officers in Yung-ning to rule the territory, which then was subject to Yung-ning and the latter in turn subject to the rulers of Li-chiang (*see* History of Yung-ning).

The *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that in the first moon of the 25th year of Hung-wu (January 25th-February 22nd, 1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 and the native, La-t'a 喇他 submitted to the empire and obeyed. The *Ming Shih* 明史, ch. 311, fols. 14a-b, states that Chia-ha-la was a Mo-so-tung 麼些洞 native chief. [In the ancient literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi), written in pictographs, it relates of their dwelling in caves]. It was not until towards the close of the period Hung-wu of the first Ming Emperor (1368–1398) that Yün-nan and especially the south-western part of China including the territory in question was subjugated.

It remained a last stronghold of the Mongols. The Yung-ning chiefs to this day pride themselves on their Mongol origin. Female relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were given in marriage to the aboriginal Mo-so native chiefs of Tso-so, called La-t'a.

The first Tso-so to visit the capital of the Ming empire, then Nanking, was the son of La-t'a or La-ma-t'a, called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. He made his submission and paid tribute. The Ming History relates that when the Imperial troops had captured Chien-ch'ang, Chia-ha-la was appointed a captain. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol military commander, resisted and with his followers tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops who had begun the subjection of the South-west. All his followers were killed, and he escaped to Po-hsing chou [the present-day Yen-yüan hsien], at that time ruled by Chia-ha-la. On the arrival of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, Chia-ha-la also rebelled. They were pursued by the Imperial troops who had commissioned a certain Pai-hu 百戶 (Centurion) by the name of Mao-hai 毛海 to arrange for their capture. He succeeded not only in capturing Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, but also his son P'an-po 胖伯. Their followers thereupon made their submission; Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and his son were taken to the capital and executed. Chia-ha-la was also captured and executed because he had also rebelled. This happened in the last (31st) year of Hung-wu (1392). It appears that the Chung-so and Tso-so chiefs also assisted in the capture of

Chia-ha-la, although it is stated that he was actually captured by Hsü K'ai 徐凱, a military commander. 173

At that time Chung-so and Tso-so had not yet been divided and were under the rule of a T'u-ch'ien-hu whose name was La-wu 剌兀. His son, who went later to pay tribute, was then appointed Fu-ch'ien-hu and not until the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) did he become officially T'u-ch'ien-hu. Thus the office of the Chung-tso T'u-ch'ien-hu had its beginning in that year. It was shortly afterwards that the Mu family (the chiefs) of Li-chiang encroached on the territory of the *So* and the latter lost about half of their domain.

Genealogy of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La shih-ying 喇世英 was the first T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so. He was a Mo-so tribesman and submitted to the Ch'ing dynasty in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710). Thereupon the Emperor issued him letters patent and an official seal and ordered him to reside in the native village of To-she 多舍寨 in Tso-so territory as its native chieftain of one thousand (families).

"La Nan-chung 喇南仲, eldest son of the legal wife of Ying, succeeded to his father's position in the 52nd year of K'ang-hsi (1713). In the 60th year (1721) he joined the Imperial troops to attack the Fan tribes [Hsi-fan, *i.e.*, Mu-li natives of La-ju-o 腊汝窩; the Yung-pei Records write La-jou-o 腊肉窩] and succeeded in capturing the bandit chief Liao-ma-erh-ch'e 了馬兒車. On account of the meritorious service thus rendered he was rewarded with the fourth official rank and the appropriate official robes, plus 150 taels of silver.

"In the third year of Yung-cheng (1725) he again joined the Imperial troops to attack the bandits of Yung-ning in Yün-nan. [The Yung-ning people are neighbors of the Tso-so and belong to the same tribe, yet they have always hated each other and in the various chronicles they call each other bandits.] He succeeded in capturing the bandit leader and 37 of his followers. In the 10th year (1732) he was rewarded with robes and button of the third official rank, also a court dress and cap used in Imperial audience, and a pinto horse.

"La Kuang-yüan 喇光遠, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 23rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1758).

"La Kuo-yü 喇國玉, first legal grandson of Yüan, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788)."

One generation is here apparently missing, namely the father of Te whose name must have been La (?) tsung 喇○宗.

"La Pang-te 喇邦德, eldest son of Tsung 宗, succeeded to his father's position in the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih the Yün-nan bandits besieged the town of Yen-yüan [Mohammedan rebels are here meant; they had even gone to Mu-li and slaughtered the lamas of Wa-chin]. He raised a military contingent and defense works and assisted in exterminating the bandits. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the second rank.

"La Cheng-hsiang 喇楨祥, eldest son of the legal wife of Te, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870)."

173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻翥. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨些寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 沽瀘土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

131 173 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州[20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州[21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢[illegible]呷 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung[22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 應家庄. The edition of 1733

---

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 吉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 吉三嘉 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 獹猡, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 獛家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 131
(Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible 173
that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893.

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Genealogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八璽 was the first ancestor 173
of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch).

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 得).

8. CH'IEN-SO 前所

173 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-
131 lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波菓 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin̲ Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 猪都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

● 173 131 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山頂, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅押克山, a distance of 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 賢, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷馨, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鍾嶽 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

ADDENDUM

After I had written this book I returned in 1940 to Li-chiang in northwestern Yün-nan to continue my investigations on the literature of the Na-khi tribe. While translating manuscripts and discussing with my dto-mbas (Na-khi priests) the aboriginal inhabitants, the P'u 濮 tribe of Li-chiang which had been conquered by Ye-ku-nien chief of the Mo-so-man, I learned that the P'u are identical with the Boa, the Chinese Hsi-fan of Mu-li 木裏. 173

In Na-khi manuscripts they are called ^{2}P'u-^{3}mi which is a transcription of P'ron-mö by which name they designate themselves in Mu-li, while Boa is a derogatory name the Na-khi have given them. Before the arrival of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in Li-chiang the ^{2}P'u-^{3}mi occupied the entire Li-chiang territory, but were conquered during the T'ang dynasty by Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te (618–626), or rather who held office during that time. The ^{2}P'u-^{3}mi were driven by them to the north as well as into the mountains in the various *li* of the district of Li-chiang where they can still be found as in Nan-shan, Hsiang-ko li, etc., while the Na-khi occupied the plains and valleys.

During the Sung dynasty (*see* page 180–81) the ^{2}P'u again gained control of their former territory till the advent of Yeh-yeh in 1101 A.D.

The Boa or ^{2}P'u-^{3}mi together with the Hli-khin̲ of Yung-ning once more tried to invade Li-chiang about 1521 but they were utterly defeated and most of them were decapitated at a place now known as Boa-shi or dead Boa, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街.

In a book of the ^{2}Dto ^{1}na ^{2}k'ö ceremony called ^{3}T'u ^{3}lü it speaks of the ^{2}P'u as follows: ^{2}Ghügh ^{2}muan̲ ^{1}ngyü ^{2}nnü, ^{1}ndzěr ^{2}ssä ^{1}dzu; ^{1}Dzi ^{2}muan̲ ^{1}ndsu ^{2}nnü, ^{2}P'u ^{2}ssä ^{1}ndsu; ^{2}P'u ^{1}ndsu ^{3}haw ^{2}muan ^{1}shu, ^{2}Ghügh ^{3}haw ^{1}ndzěr ^{2}muan̲ ^{1}shu.

Translated this reads: Before the birds were, the trees had been born; before the ^{2}Dzi (Na-khi are meant) had settled, the P'u were settled; where the ^{2}P'u had settled it was unnecessary to look for food (elsewhere), neither did the birds have to look for a roost. In another manuscript called ^{1}Ō-^{4}yu-^{2}ngv-^{2}szi-^{2}yi of the ^{2}Zhi ^{2}mä funeral ceremony it relates that the ^{2}P'u ate raw meat and that they also ate their dead. That the ^{2}P'u must have been a very primitive people is borne out by the present living condition of their descendants in Mu-li where they form the main population. I have observed them eating carrion honey-combed by maggots of the thickness and size of a man's finger.

Little is known of their language which is very different from the other tribal languages; they have no written language but the lamas among them have employed the Tibetan script for it.

[p. 471] [p. 472 is blank]

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[34]

CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神 *

---

778 THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* | 櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

778 173 The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

---

* This chapter appeared in the *Journal* of the North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1918, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Council. Numerous alterations will be noticed.

Another account says they were written by 漢班超 778 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have 173 done it, but the former story is the more generally believed.

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important 778 matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes 769 and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet.

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t‘ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t‘ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k‘ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *ssŭ* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k‘un* 晜, *jêng* 礽, *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

Chapter III

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH CHINESE TRIBAL MOVEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS

1. Pa and Shu Peoples of Ssu-ch'uan

● 173 The origins of all the various peoples of China, as with those of all the other nations of the earth, are usually traced back as far as documentary history leads them and from there into the realms first of quasi-history and then into that of mythology. In China, fairly reliable documentary history begins with the Chou Dynasty at about 1122 B.C. Quasi-history takes one back to perhaps before the second thousand years B.C. A great many Chinese historical scholars are willing to accept as historical fact the existence of the so-called Yellow Emperor who is supposed to have become the ruler of the Han-Chinese in B.C. 2697. Moreover, they see historical cross-reference support for many of the circumstances and events of his time. The accounts of such an early period are included here as a partial introduction to the Chinese view of the historical development of the southern peoples and are not presented as facts accepted by the author. These early accounts are important because they figure in the mythological origins of many of the non-Han tribes as well as in the thinking of the Han-Chinese about their relationship with the non-Han tribes people.

174
171 The earliest cultural center of South China appears to be in Ssu-ch'uan (See Photo 8) at a time contemporary with or even preceding the first appearance of Han-Chinese culture in the Yellow River Valley. Eberhard called this the Pa culture, but Hsu Sung-shih equated it with the Shu-shan culture and included Pa in it. What their culture was like cannot be ascertained, said Hsu[1], although some excavations in Ssu-ch'uan give a few meager indications.[2] Eberhard drew certain tentative conclusions about it on the basis of the few documentary facts available.[3] Figures of animals, people, warriors, servants, girls, all types of household articles, reliefs, and glazed grave-bricks showing stilt-houses and leaf or thatched roofs